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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-163
Thursday
24 August 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Deputy Chief of Staff on Progress in Forces Cuts

PM2308095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by M. Kostikov under the rubric: "Dialogue. Readers' Questions, Thoughts, Advice"]

[Text] The PRAVDA mailbag contains many letters posing a whole series of questions connected with the start of the reduction of armed forces and armaments which our country is carrying out unilaterally. How is the reduction process going? Are these measures not going to weaken the USSR's defense capability?

PRAVDA correspondent M. Kostikov put this question to Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. In particular, he reported that 50,200 servicemen, 6 tank divisions, and a total of 5,300 tanks, 1,100 guns, and 321 aircraft will be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces in 1989-1990. The USSR Defense Ministry is taking specific steps to switch the remaining divisions to the new defensive organizational structure—in particular, with a smaller number of tanks, but with more antitank weapons. The switch to the new defensive structure compensates to some extent for the numerical reduction.

By 1 August 1,988 tanks, 169 guns, 81 aircraft, and 11,400 servicemen had already been withdrawn from the Western Group of Forces. By that date our total reductions abroad came to 3,100 tanks, 690 guns, 162 aircraft, and 31,800 servicemen.

The future development of events largely depends on the results of the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe and a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our country is persisting with its peace-loving foreign policy, the deputy chief of the General Staff said, and, guided by the defensive doctrine, has embarked on the implementation of these major unilateral measures in the arms reduction sphere.

U.S. Attachment to SDI Hampering Arms Talks

PM2408082389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Article specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA by V. Chernyshev, TASS military observer: "Washington and the Geneva Talks"]

[Text] The United States should take steps which would lead to real progress at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms. THE NEW YORK TIMES recently expressed this opinion in an editorial. I think that this is a very timely wish.

At the recent 11th round of talks, which was the first round for the George Bush administration, the U.S. side stated that it would adhere to the positions agreed between the USSR and the United States under the Ronald Reagan administration. Undoubtedly, continuity in those spheres which could serve as points of departure for bringing the sides' positions closer together should be welcomed. But what new ideas of its own did the current U.S. leadership bring to the last round of talks aimed at removing the remaining obstacles in the way of reaching agreement?

To be blunt, the "additions" to the former administration's position prompt contradictory feelings. For instance, the U.S. side's proposal to prepare and implement verification and stability measures on a trial basis even before a strategic offensive weapons [SOW] treaty is signed merits attention. Clearly, the holding of joint experiments in the verification sphere will subsequently promote the speediest ratification of this treaty by the U.S. Senate. So this proposal can still be explained in some rational fashion. Only it is important that the proposed measures be implemented in parallel with the elaboration of the basic text of the treaty rather than substituting for or hampering this process.

However, the new provisions which the George Bush administration has now stipulated as conditions for the fulfillment of the accords on the fate of the ABM Treaty reached by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan are hardly likely to make for progress. The U.S. representatives at the talks have stated that the United States will agree not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty during an specified period only if three conditions are stipulated: recognition of each side's right to deploy space-based defenses after the expiry of the period of compliance with the ABM Treaty; the retention of the usual rights to withdraw from the treaty and to end the operation of the treaty; and clarification of the rights to research, develop [razrabotka], and test ABM systems. It is quite clear that the third condition—"clarification"—is deliberately aimed at altering the very essence of the ABM Treaty, which prohibits the development [sozdavat], testing, and deployment of an ABM system or components of a space-based ABM system.

In setting these conditions, the United States at the same time refused to accept the Soviet proposal to include in the text of the SOW treaty the provision that it would no longer be binding in the event of a violation of the ABM treaty or of any agreement to observe it for a set period.

Nor can other circumstances fail to alarm us. First, the Pentagon is carrying out practical tests under the SDI program at an accelerated pace. The world public learned that experiments and tests involving elements of a future large-scale antimissile defense system on the ground, in the air, and in space had been held in the course of just 6 months. Thus, the "Alpha" chemical laser, which is intended to be space-based, was tested at a range in California 7 April, and a week later a new antimissile missile to be deployed on platforms in low-earth orbit was tested at Edwards Air Force Base. The first test in space of a particle-beam weapon—a 7-meter neutral particle accelerator—was staged in July within the framework of the "star wars" program. A homing sensor [datchik samonavedeniya] for antimissile missiles intended to be deployed on ABM satellites was launched into the atmosphere from Edwards in early August.

Second, we are put on our guard by the persistence with which the present U.S. Administration is striving to win major appropriations for SDI from Congress. At a White House meeting with senators 24 July President G. Bush stated that SDI, in his opinion, is of decisive importance, and he considers it important for the program to be carried out.

Third, the tests carried out under the SDI program will serve as material confirmation of the statements by representatives of the current U.S. Administration on the future of the ABM Treaty. Thus, U.S. Vice President D. Quayle, speaking 29 June at the American Defense Preparedness Association, made quite clear the determination to develop [razrabotka] strategic defense systems and to deploy them when they are ready. Defense Secretary R. Cheney stated his opinion no less frankly, saying that he would advocate abandonment of the ABM Treaty as soon as the United States nears the possibility of deploying SDI. Lieutenant General G. Monahan, director of the SDI Organization, speaking at a Senate subcommittee, claimed that the holding of tests within the SDI framework would permit the United States to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, and that this document would ultimately have to be annulled. Finally, R. Burt, leader of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, claims that the G. Bush administration will strive to conclude a SOW treaty with the USSR which would allow the United States to wholly retain "all possible options for deploying" SDI. In his words, the Soviet position, linking a SOW agreement to the resolution of the problem of retaining the ABM Treaty, is "unacceptable" to the U.S. Administration.

Is it possible, on the basis of this position and building up practical work on the "star wars" program, for the Soviet Union to embark on the conclusion of an agreement on 50-percent SOW cuts? The deployment of SDI or even the threat of such a deployment would lead to an acute violation of the stability of the international situation. If, given the balance between the two powers, one side adds a new component to the strategic equation, can we say that equilibrium is maintained and stability strengthened? It is quite clear that we cannot: Equilibrium will disappear and uncertainty will increase.

Just what did Washington do to resolve the other vexed questions in the last round of the Geneva talks? Unfortunately, the U.S. side did not move forward in the other fundamental areas either. It is hard, for instance, not to be surprised at the fact that the U.S. Administration, while trying to persuade Congress to allocate appropriations for two types of ground-based mobile ballistic missiles, has at the same time left its proposal to ban deployment of such missiles untouched on the Geneva negotiating table.

At any rate, it remains to be hoped that the situation will nonetheless become clearer at the meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker scheduled for 19-20 September. It will be possible at this meeting to exchange opinions at the political level and to resolve the fundamental issues currently hampering progress at the Geneva talks.

Canadian Diplomat Wants Nuclear-Free Europe

LD2408095889 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Ottawa August 24 TASS—The Western response to the Soviet perestroyka and the USSR'S disarmament proposals is inadequate. This is the opinion of Douglas Roche, a prominent Canadian diplomat, Canada's representative on the UN Disarmament Commission.

He made a speech at an annual conference of the Canadian Association of Lawyers, which ended in Vancouver on Wednesday.

Western countries should not interfere in the USSR's internal affairs, they should support the progressive forces in the Soviet Union through a positive response to the Soviet leadership's disarmament initiatives. The Canadian diplomat called upon the West to agree to full elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

Answering journalists' questions after the conference, Roche said that his stance vis-a-vis was supported by Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Foreign Minister Joseph Clark.

World Conference in Riga on Soviet-Nazi Pact Ends

LD2408085489 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Riga August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Robert Ostrovskiy:

Participants in the two-day international conference on the Nazi-Soviet pact, which ended here on Wednesday, called the agreement "A crime against peace and humanity".

The conference discussed the rights to self-determination and equality of nations.

Politicians and lawyers from West Germany, the United States, Denmark and Britain and representatives of informal movements of some Soviet republics attended the conference at the invitation of the Latvian Movement for National Independence.

U.S. Senator Robert Kasten (Wisconsin), West German Parliamentarian Hans Graf Hoyn, Polish Senator Tadeusz Romanowski and West German Politicist Agils Lewitz spoke at the forum.

William Huff, an international legal expert from New York City, warned against descrimination with regard to other nationalities living in Latvia. Huff said that Western democracies will never support those who call for the deportation of the non-indigenous population from Latvia and other Baltic republics.

Gremitskikh 23 Aug Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Discusses Gorbachev Vacation, Baltics

LD2308142789 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar today, expressing serious concern about tragic developments in Lebanon, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh disclosed at a briefing here today.

Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said, summarising the letter, that "the civil war which has continued for many years in that country has made it utterly clear that there is no military solution to the Lebanese crisis."

Replying to a reporter's question, he did not rule out the possibility of the Soviet foreign minister's special envoy in the Middle East Gennadiy Tarasov visiting not only Syria but also other countries in the region.

He confirmed his Monday's [21 August] claim at a similar briefing that France has sent warships to Lebanese shores without notifying the USSR.

Gremitskikh briefed correspondents on the wide-ranging programme of the current trip to the USSR at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet by a delegation from the U.S. House of Agricultural Committee, stressing the importance attached to the visit in Moscow.

Asked whether Mikhail Gorbachev is currently on vacation, Gremitskikh cited Tuesday's report by a Polish United Workers Party Central Committee spokesman that "the party Central Committee's first secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski had a long telephone conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev, who is on vacation."

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman added that he has no grounds for doubting the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee spokesman's report on the very fact of such a telephone conversation. "But I personally received no information on this score," he added.

Asked to comment on today's developments in the Soviet Baltic republics in connection with an anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, Gremitskikh said that "one needs first to study what has really happened today in the Baltic region and only then will be able to comment on it".

Cites Shevardnadze Letter on Lebanon

LD2308141989 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—"There is serious concern in the Soviet Union about the tragic events in Lebanon," it is pointed out in the message addressed to the UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR.

Expounding on this message, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, stressed at a briefing here today that the "many years-long civil war in that country has shown with utmost clarity that there is no military solution to the Lebanese crisis."

In his message Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the hope that the secretary-general would exert the most active efforts to promote a political settlement of the conflict in Lebenon. A useful role in this context could be played by a special representative of the secretary general in the Middle East, the idea of whose appointment is now being considered.

The Soviet Union believes, the message stresses, that the main thing today is to stop the process of the situation's degradation in the region, to put an end to the fratricidal strife, violence and destruction there, to create conditions for the promotion of a political dialogue among the Lebanese groupings with the help of the Arab League Committee for Lebanon.

Eduard Shevardnadze assured Perez de Cuellar that in discharging his noble peace-making mission, resting on the solid foundation of the United Nations Charter and enjoying the world community's support, he could rely on the active assistance and help of the Soviet Union.

'Rift' in Afghan Opposition Noted

LD2308140489 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The failure of their military ambitions and the government's consistent national reconciliation policy have caused a widening rift in the Afghan armed opposition, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said today.

He was commenting at a briefing here on Tuesday's news conference at the Afghan Foreign ministry's press centre of four opposition field commanders who had quit the Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan to join the government's side.

Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that the Afghan Government's fulfilment of its promises and its new relationships with field commanders work towards coalition rule in respective areas.

"Unlike the leaders of 'Peshawar Seven', persisting in their attempts, through orders and bribes, to make commanders fight one another, central authorities have stubbornly worked to lay the foundation for peace in Afghanistan," he said.

Commenting on Afghan rebels' activities in neighbouring countries, the spokesman drew attention to continuing drug trafficking by Mujahideen.

"According to respective Afghan services, the kidnapping of children from Afghan refugee camps in Peshawar has become more frequent lately. Children are abducted by Afghan rebels engaging in drug smuggling, who kill them and use the corpses to carry narcotics from Peshawar to Karachi and also to the Iranian border," Gremitskikh said.

Perfilyev Discusses Afghanistan, Drug Smuggling

LD2408011389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] There was a briefing in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. Speaking at it, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, dwelt in particular on the situation in and around Afghanistan.

[Begin Perfilyev recording] A news conference took place in Kabul given by four field commanders of the Afghan opposition who have gone over, together with their formations, to the side of the government. They explained their move over to the policy of national reconciliation by saying that they no longer wished to participate in a war of Afghans against Afghans. The commanders admitted that while Soviet troops were in Afghanistan they had, to a considerable extent, been under the influence of propaganda which called for struggle against Soviet troops and the pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan. The period after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan convinced them that the USSR, which had not ceased to give aid to Afghanistan in the most important food products and essential goods, was a friend of the Afghan people and would remain so. As far as the Afghan Government and President Najibullah were concerned, personally, they had become convinced that the authorities were fulfilling their promises and that the mutual relations which they had created with the field commanders facilitated the creation of a real coalition in the regions where they live.

In connection with the activity of the Afghan armed oppositon formation on the territory of neighboring countries, the question again arose of drug smuggling. The drugs sent to the countries of the region or to the West are produced in Pakistan or in regions of Afghanistan controlled by the opposition. According to data from the competent Afghan bodies, there have lately been increasing numbers of children kidnapped from Afghan refugee camps in Peshawar. The refugees believe the children are being kidnapped by Afghan oppositionists who are drug smugglers; they kill the children and use their corpses for transporting drugs from Peshawar to Karachi and also to the Iranian border. In connection with this, in some Afghan refugee camps, in particular in (Makedaw) and Naw Shahr, there have been protest meetings.

Hikmatyar, head of the Hezb-e Eslami Afghanistan grouping, who is foreign minister in the opposition government, accused some Western countries of conducting espionage among the mujahidin operating on the territory of Afghanistan. According to him, Western spies sent in under the guise of journalists and doctors are whipping up ethnic passions and are setting the mujahidin against each other in order to split the ranks of the opposition. And they are paying individual field commanders vast amounts of money. As reported by the Japanese KYODO Press Agency, Hikmatyar has ordered the commanders of the border regions to block the penetration of such persons into Afghanistan without preliminary permission. He also warned the named Western countries that if they do not cease such actions the responsibility for severe actions by the mujahidin will lie on them. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Message to International Red Cross

Okays Geneva Convention on War Victims

LD2308100989 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has sent a letter to Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Red Cross, officially notifying him that on August 4, this year, the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified the 1977 additional protocols to the 1949 Geneva conventions on the protection of war victims.

These major documents of international humanitarian law were ratified by the Soviet Union without any reservations to limit the sphere of their application, the letter emphasised.

Guided by a desire for an all-round strengthening of international law and order, the Soviet Union also stated its recognition, on the basis of reciprocity, of the competence of the international commission for the establishment of facts. The founding of the commission is provided for by one of the protocols ratified.

The international community may rest assured that the Soviet Union will continue to firmly meet its commitments in the field of humanitarian law in good faith and expects the same from other countries, Shevardnadze pointed out.

The first of the protocols ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet considerably extended the rights for the protection of civilian population, sanitary personnel and medical institutions during possible combat operations.

Under the protocols, the population of occupied territories is granted the right to material aid if they experience a shortage of medicines or food.

Protocol one bans warring sides from making attacks of an 'indiscriminate' nature which, apart from military facilities, may also affect civilians.

Protocol two is practically the first international legal document in which humanitarian provisions of laws and war customs are applied to participants in internal (civilian) conflicts irrespective of which side they are on. It also envisages additional safeguards against arbitrariness with regard to the civilian population.

Message Published

PM2408131989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze letter to President of International Red Cross Committee Sommaruga: "Letter to President"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze has sent a letter to Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Red Cross Committee in connection with the ratification by the Soviet Union of the Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions on the Protection of War Victims. The letter reads as follows:

Mr President,

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that on 4 August 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified the 1977 Additional Protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the Protection of War Victims.

I would like to stress that these very important documents of international law have been ratified by the Soviet Union without any reservations which would limit the scope of their application. Governed by a desire for all-around strengthening of international law and order, the Soviet state also announced its recognition on the basis of reciprocity of the competence of the International commission for the establishment of facts, the creation of which is provided for under Article 90 of Protocol I.

The Soviet Union's ratification of the protocols coincides with two noteworthy dates—the 125th anniversary of the first humanitarian Geneva Convention on improving the lot of the wounded of armies in the field and the universally significant 40th anniversary of the Geneva Convention on the Protection of War Victims of 12 August 1949. This shows utterly clearly the continuity of Russian and Soviet diplomacy, which has for more than one century now been working to ensure that standards of humanity and mercy are observed during time of armed conflicts.

I hope that our state's line is judged on its merits by both the other countries of the world and the worldwide movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, including the International Red Cross Committee. The humanization of international relations now occupies a very important place in Soviet foreign policy priorities, and the ratification of the additional protocols serves as corroboration of this. The international community can be certain that the Soviet Union will continue to honestly and staunchly discharge its obligations in the sphere of humanitarian law and counts on other states to do likewise.

I would like in conclusion to express to you, Mr President, my wishes for every success in the implementation of the International Red Cross Committee mandate of developing and spreading international humanitarian law.

Gorbachev Trips Aid USSR Image Abroad

PM2408084589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

["Our Commentary" by Mikhail Ozerov: "Europe's 'Hot Summer'"]

[Text] Yes, it has indeed been a hot summer in Europe from the political viewpoint. How many events have taken place on the continent! And they have not just been important events arousing great interest, but, in their way, crucial events helping surmount the barriers of the past. First and foremost, there were the Soviet leader's visits to the FRG and France. But that is not all. The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference in Bucharest. The Paris conference on the human dimension of the all-European process. The military ["voinskiye," presumably misprint for "venskiye," "Vienna"] talks on the reduction of conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. The summit of the seven major capitalist countries in Paris. The elections to the European Parliament...

No wonder the situation in Europe is giving rise to a multitude of questions. Particularly the following question: Why is the Old World the center of world politics at the moment, what is the reason?

I would pick out two facts. First, it is on our continent that fresh, modern approaches are particularly noticeable. The struggle between the two sociopolitical systems has been keenly felt here in recent decades, but now, literally before our very eyes, world community consciousness is growing and a consolidation of forces is occurring.

The significant activation of our country's European policy plays a big part in this process—here we come to the second fact. M.S. Gorbachev's trips to the FRG and France (and last spring to Britain as well) helped to coordinate the plans and agree the work schedules of the "builders" from the various countries, and the work is now even quicker and more effective.

One senses this in various spheres, including the ultra-complex strategic military sphere. We have abandoned the "Who Will Win?" thesis and the other side, while sometimes slow to act and rather chary, is responding in a generally positive manner. At the recent NATO Council session in Brussels and at the sessions of the bloc's military organs our initiatives were not only not rejected, but a discussion of possibilities for reducing armed forces began. The Brussels declaration contains considerably less confrontation and stereotyped attitudes than previous NATO documents.

This kind of reciprocal action is certainly gratifying, after all, Soviet people today see an intimate link between the future of perestroyka and our military expenditure. People thirsting for the swiftest possible practical results from perestroyka are hoping that reduced defense appropriations will have a substantial impact on store shelves and the people's mood.

They also pin hopes on efforts on another "front"—organizing broad and nondiscriminatory economic cooperation in Europe. There are plans now to embark on new forms of business links. That is, placing foreign orders with Soviet scientific institutes and making commercial use of our space technology achievements abroad.

The following task is also on the agenda—making much fuller use of the complementary Western and Eastern economic structures. The development of links between CEMA and the EEC has a big part to play in this. The creation of a single internal market in the EEC by 1992 is bound to affect all the states of the continent, and unless the EEC countries considerably raise the pace of integration the danger will arise of a new split in Europe—this time in the technological sphere.

And another thing. We want the common European home to be a rule-of-law community. But a gulf remains between the existing laws in our country and international accords. The situation is slow to change.

But there are increasingly marked changes in the humanitarian sphere. The flow of Soviet travelers is increasing, exchange of information is improving, and cultural contacts are developing...

The whole range of questions concerning the situation in Europe comes down to the following: Is a reorientation of USSR foreign policy taking place? Some people say that the activation of Moscow's efforts in Europe could be detrimental to its "U.S. direction" and put the dampers on what has been achieved in recent years in relations with the United States. There is also the view, not a new one, but particularly popular at the moment, that Russia allegedly wants to drive a wedge between the West European countries and the United States.

Following the summit meeting in Bonn the leader of the Soviet delegation stated quite clearly that the building of a common European home presupposes the active participation of the United States and Canada—and he stressed that our intentions involve neither dirty tricks nor treachery.

But it appears that one cannot say the same about the United States. To all appearances, the United States would like to manage European policy according to its own taste and judgment. There is abundant evidence of this. The categorical refusal to hold talks on reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. The desire to preserve its military presence on the continent with minimal losses, and, therefore, the current level of military confrontation. The weary (if not negative) attitude toward the evident strengthening of cooperation between CEMA and the EEC. And so on and so forth.

In no way do we want to "derail" what we are rightly proud of—the considerable political and economic work we have accomplished with the United States. And there has been no "reorientation" of our foreign policy. But in order to be able to move forward you need the participation of both sides... When the discussion at an August meeting with readers in Obninsk turned to recent events in Europe, the writer of these lines heard the following pronouncements: Doesn't the Soviet leader go abroad too often and don't the trips distract him from the very complex problems facing the country?

Of course, we have plenty of problems, but in no way should they be an obstacle to contacts with the outside world. It is the country's isolation that aggravates the problems, while foreign policy successes make a substantial contribution to the solution of domestic tasks. Apart from anything else, a state that stays aloof from the world process will be doomed to lag behind in the economic, scientific, and technical spheres. As for the Soviet Union, it would lose the prospect of preserving its leading role in the international arena, and this is a question not only of our prestige, but of progress too, even perhaps of survival.

At the moment we need favorable external conditions more than ever before. Only then will we be able to attain the major goals we have set.

When talking about these trips abroad one must also consider another vital aspect that has hardly been noticed so far.

When on the banks of the Rhine the Soviet visitor would suddenly get out of his car and go among the crowd greeting him (it happened outside the city hall on the Marktplatz, where thousands of Bonn residents had assembled, bearing slogans and flowers, and after the dinner in the "Redoubt" given by Federal Chancellor H. Kohl, and during the tours of Stuttgart, Dortmund, and Duesseldorf), and a lively, frank discussion invariably ensued.

I witnessed not only this summit visit to the FRG, but also the previous one, 7 and ½ years ago, and I was distinctly aware in June of the massive changes both in our relations and in our perceptions of one another. Whereas in the fall of 1981 there were protest demonstrations in various FRG cities against the introduction of Soviet forces into Afghanistan, against the infringement of human rights in Russia, and so forth, now there were quite different demonstrations—in support of Moscow's new policy. On television one saw the happy faces of West Germans talking with the Soviet leader, shaking his hand, asking him to sign copies of his book on perestroyka, newly published in German.

The attitude of the normally restrained West Germans was nice, of course, but it was not the only thing. I think we must analyze much more deeply and carefully the psychological aspect of the particular visit. The analysis is necessary because a change in the people's mood signifies changes in policy.

I wrote all this and I thought: Some reader might wonder whether this is not too bright a picture, whether everything is really fine and dandy in Europe.

What can one say about such doubts... The sky above the continent is not cloudless, although there have been far fewer dark clouds of late. The rapprochement of East and West is hindered not only by objective facts—different economies, political systems, and ideologies. It is not so easy either to overcome the invisible psychological barrier of "them" and "us."

Remember the "Moscow letter." In mid-July our country knocked for the first time at the door of the "Seven." A letter from M.S. Gorbachev to F. Mitterrand, who was chairman of the Paris conference of heads of the seven states, put forward specific ideas on collaboration in the solution of general world economic problems. A natural initiative for a major power like ours, one would say. Moreover, it accords with the demands of the day.

We are talking about normal logic. But some people think otherwise. Certain statesmen immediately began to dictate terms and others expressed surprise, even astonishment, as if the ceiling had collapsed in the "Arch" skyscraper in Paris where the "seven" were meeting.

This reaction, together with adherence to the concept of "nuclear deterrence" and other actions and theories of the past, has no place in today's European landscape.

...We all remember well how keenly the deputies listened to M.S. Gorbachev when he talked at the USSR Supreme Soviet session about his trips to Britain, the FRG, and France and about his participation in the Bucharest conference of the Political Consultative Committee, how they then asked all manner of questions and expressed their own views. Summing up the trips, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, with obvious satisfaction: "By and large, one can say—in Lenin's expression—that peaceful coexistence among the different European states is becoming a reality which no one can ignore any longer."

Indeed, this reality can no longer be ignored. In analyzing the events of this "hot summer" it is a fair conclusion to come to that a new period is starting in the continent's history—the building of a lasting peace in Europe.

United States & Canada

U.S. Congressmen Rebutted on Political Prisoners

LD2308184589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] And now about a Western radio canard: The other day, the Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, BBC radio stations, some Western news agencies, and other media reported that two U.S. congressmen, who had visited a Soviet corrective labor camp, came to the conclusion that there still are people in Soviet colonies who are serving their sentences for political views. Despite the fact that the next day TASS information with the relevant clarification was given about this, the U.S. congressmen's statement on the presence of individuals sentenced for their political views in our centers for deprivation of freedom is being repeated by the Western press.

Here is a statement by Vladimir Nikolayevich Prokopenko, senior employee of a press service, at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry:

[Begin Prokopenko recording] During the last few years, in the West—and not only in the West—it has been customary to describe as political prisoners those individuals who served their sentences for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and for deliberately spreading falsifications casting aspersions on the state and social system. Within the context of work aimed at restructuring and humanizing our society, by the time the final document was signed in Vienna, there was not a single—I emphasize, not a single—individual left in our country serving time in colonies only for the above-mentioned charges.

Last December, for the first time, Western media representatives, in particular Rosenthal, associate editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES, and (Fitzpatrick) a member of a public committee for observing the Helsinki accords, were allowed to visit corrective labor colony No 35 in Perm Oblast. They were given the opportunity to meet with individuals serving their sentences there. Recently, French journalists visited that colony.

And then, at their request, U.S. Congressmen Frank Wolf and Christopher Smith, who are members of the committee for observing the fulfillment of the Helsinki accords, were given the opportunity to visit that corrective labor colony, where people sentenced for state crime and not for political views are serving their terms, to meet freely with all the convicts there, to talk to them, and to report about this. But the U.S. congressmen, after the meeting in corrective labor colony No 35, gave the names of three individuals who, in the congressmen's view, could be regarded as political prisoners: convicts (Kazachkov), (Smirnov), and (Lubman). An impartial examination of the circumstances related to the conviction of the three individuals named by the U.S. congressmen shows that the difference between them and political prisoners is the same as, say, that between a "sir" and a "dear sir." All the three convicts mentioned above are currently serving their sentences for high treason, or to be more specific, for conveying state secrets to U.S. intelligence services. Thus, voluntarily or not, the U.S. congressmen are misleading the world public and their electorate by asserting that there are political prisoners in the USSR whom we allegedly have been trying to conceal.

An absolutely unequivocal answer should be given to this question: There are no individuals sentenced for political views in corrective labor colonies. [end recording]

U.S. Congress Agriculture Group's Visit Reported

Meets Nikitin, Skiba 22 Aug

PM2308150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings With Delegation"]

[Excerpts] On 22 August V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with a delegation of the House Agriculture Committee of the U.S. Congress headed by E. de la Garza, its chairman. [passage omitted]

Present at the talks, which were held in an amicable and constructive atmosphere, were V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases; I.I. Skiba, head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; a group of USSR people's deputies, and other officials. [passage omitted]

Meets Foreign Trade Minister

LD2308203689 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Prospects for the further development of trade in farm produce were discused by a delegation of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress during a conversation with USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev today. The American delegation staying here at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet started the second day of its visit by this meeting at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

On the same day the guests visited the All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations. Possible trends of joint research in the area of agriculture were discussed at the meeting with Soviet scientists. It is precisely in the area of science that cooperation of Soviet and American specialists in agriculture can be most effective, holds member of the U.S. delegation, Congressman Dan Glickman (Democrat, Kansas). Glickman said in an interview to TASS the American congressmen are aware of the difficulties experienced by agriculture in the USSR, but also know of Soviet achievements in agrarian sciences. He said that he, therefore, believes there is sense in pooling scientific potential of the two countries for tackling jointly such acute problems as protection of farmlands from natural calamities, pests, for joint quest of ecologically pure fertilisers. He said that all these are global problems on whose solution the daily living of every human ultimately depends, and that the USSR and the U.S.A. can set in this an example for other countries to follow.

Delegation Addresses U.S. Space Conference

LD2308222989 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] New York August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Bespalko:

Aspects of the study of the solar system and plans for space exploration in the next century and their funding are on the agenda of an international conference which has opened in Pasadena, California. The conference is attended by more than 800 leading scientists and specialists from various countries, including the Soviet Union. It is organized by the United States' leading space centers.

Much interest of the participants was provoked by an address of Soviet researcher Valeriy Barsukov who told the conference that the Soviet Union planned sending another automatic space probe to Phobos by the end of the century. A similar mission to Mercury is scheduled for the same time.

The Soviet researcher spoke in favor of coordinating efforts and funds of the United States and the Soviet Union in sending space mission to the Moon and the Mars.

The United States is planning 35 missions to near-earth and deep space for the coming five years, NASA [National Aeronautics and Space Administration] leading specialist Alfonso Dia told the conference.

U.S. Said 'Locked' Into 'Policy of Strength'

PM2408081189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "View From Moscow" article: "Not a Soldier's Greatcoat but a Scientist's Coat"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Over the last few years the world has felt the growing effect of the perception of a new situation prevailing on our planet when force or the threat of force can no longer be instruments of foreign policy, when the solution of global problems demands collaboration between states and sociopolitical currents. A tremendous role in this breakthrough for the better is played by the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, all of whose initiatives have proved its commitment to the ideas of the new political thinking. This has made it possible to take the first real steps in the cause of improving the health of the international situation and of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is being successfully fulfilled. The latest round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms aimed at halving the two countries' arsenals of strategic offensive arms, has only just ended in Geneva. Broad prospects for radical improvement of the world situation are offered by the Soviet proposals to the West to begin talks on tactical nuclear weapons and to completely ban nuclear tests. As a result of the Warsaw Pact organization's initiative, which received a positive response from NATO, the talks on conventional arms are undergoing qualitative changes.

Yes, there has been tangible progress. The situation in the world today is different from what it was, say, 5 years ago. The trend toward solving world problems through a quest for mutually acceptable accords and the striving for universal consensus are more and more persistently breaking through in the activity of politicians and especially in the activeness of social forces. But look at the variegated panorama of international life! How odd it is to see elements of the new intermingled with remnants of the old. What a heavy burden is placed on the minds of many politicians by dogmas and cliches which developed way back at the dawning of the nuclear age. Inconsistencies and contradictions in the words and deeds of NATO countries' leaders are literally striking.

Given that "a nuclear war must never be fought and there can be no victors in it" (as formulated in the joint statement by the USSR and U.S. leaders in Geneva), how is it possible to rely on the strategy of nuclear deterrence, commitment to which was reiterated in NATO's program declaration? Seeing that the first practical step has been taken along the path of really reducing nuclear arms and that the next, even more significant decision in this sphere is being elaborated in discussions which are far from easy, why push through a program for the modernization of U.S. strategic forces? Given that history has convincingly proved that it is impossible to achieve a lasting advantage in the military technology sphere or to gain a "position of decisive superiority," is it sensible to invest huge amounts of money and scientific and technical potential in the development [razrabotka] of the latest "exotic" varieties of arms, whose inauguration explains Washington's stubborn unwillingness to accept the Soviet proposal on a complete ban on underground nuclear tests?

In this context I cannot fail to look at the U.S. President's latest statement. G. Bush delivered a speech at celebrations to mark the bicentennial of the country's military department. "Only the strong can preserve peace," he proclaimed as the administration's main slogan. "The United States today," Bush went on, "needs a comprehensive strategic program calculated to strengthen our might, to strengthen the deterrence effect, and to ease arms control." The President spoke firmly in favor of the modernization of U.S. intercontinental ballistic missiles and the production of invisible

"Stealth" bombers, especially emphasizing the importance of fulfilling the SDI program. The implementation of these programs, he said, "will open up the prospect of stable correlations of nuclear forces relying increasingly on defense," and also "will give the Soviets an incentive to return to the negotiating table, and this will make any treaty on strategic offensive weapons more effective."

Begging the presidential speechwriters' pardon, but every phrase here sins against either truth or elementary logic! It is universally known that approximate parity between the two military-political groupings exists in the nuclear arms sphere, as well as in armed forces as a whole. Consequently, the fulfillment of programs for the improvement of U.S. nuclear forces can only disrupt the prevailing balance and hinder the quest for accord. And the remark about "incentive for the Soviets to return to the negotiating table" sounds altogether absurd. The Soviet Union is at this table. Not only is it at the table, but it participates in the talks, actively and honestly putting forward fresh initiatives aimed at advancing toward a nonviolent and safe world. I don't know, maybe the place where the speech was delivered had an effect on its nature. After all, the President was addressing generals, admirals, and colonels. But I don't think that this is the only or even the determining factor. The U.S. Administration has gotten itself "locked into" the "policy of strength." And this cannot but cause alarm. [passage omitted]

China

Primakov Holds Talks With PRC's Chen Muhua

OW2408011889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] The All-China Women's Federation delegation led by Chen Muhua, its president and vice chairman of the National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee, continues its visit to the Soviet Union.

On 18 Aug, Chen Muhua held talks with Primakov, chairman of the Council of Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. During their friendly conversation, Chen Muhua and Primakov exchanged views on the activities of China's NPC and the USSR Supreme Soviet. They also discussed the importance of work done by the two countries' supreme bodies in raising the status of women.

RSFSR Foreign Affairs Group Visits Harbin

OW2408063089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] A delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] is visiting Harbin. The delegation is headed by RSFSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Vinogradov. During talks there, the Soviet visitors discussed with their Chinese counterparts how to develop and promote cooperation between the RSFSR and Heilongjiang Province. During his meeting with Heilongjiang leaders, the head of the Soviet delegation Vinogradov pointed out that there are good prospects for cooperation between the two sides and further efforts should be made to promote that cooperation.

PRC Helps Set Up Medical Center in Altay

LD2408074689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Summary] A center of eastern medicine, the first in the Soviet Union, is being created in Barnaul. This is possible thanks to friendly ties between the Altay and the Chinese province of Liaoning. A delegation of Altay doctors which visited China signed an agreement with colleagues there.

Plans include not just the setting up of the center, in which Chinese specialists will work and train a group of Soviet medics, but also the organization of joint production of medicines using Altay herbs and Chinese recipes.

Official on Science, Technology Ties With PRC

OW2408123889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Yezhkov, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology and chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation, has likened scientific and technological ties to a thin fabric. He said that if Soviet-Chinese relations should break, this thin fabric will be torn to pieces. In general, scientific and technological ties come last in the resumption of relations. Yezhkov elaborated on this in a talk with station reporter (Karipov):

Yezhkov said: If we compare the present level of scientific and technological ties between our countries with their potential, then we are not satisfied with the present level of development. For now, one of the reasons our ties will have great development is that for a long time we did not know about the achievements and possibilities of the other side. The Soviet Scientific and Technological Day held last autumn in China and the Chinese Scientific and Technological Day held this July in our country helped fill the blank spots in this area.

(Karipov) asked: Leaders of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology met with the Chinese Government delegation to the Chinese Scientific and Technological Day. They exchanged views on prospects for cooperation between the two countries. Do you have any comments on this?

Yezhkov said: In my view, the meeting underlines the importance of the ties between our two countries. First of all, both sides hope to enter into wide-ranging cooperation; both sides also hope to reach more common points. Therefore, we plan to continue consolidating the foundation of cooperation between our two countries through agreements and laws; we want to promote broadening of ties between collectives of the two countries. Some collectives of the two countries have already established direct ties, and border areas have also established contacts. Some cities have also established sister ties, and they may have direct dealings with each other. In this connection, we should make the utmost use of the established ties. However, there is a particular area in which both countries attach special attention. Both the Soviet Union and China have priority plans to develop science and technology—that is, government-approved plans.

(Karipov) asked: Then, this is the area of most interest to the Soviet Union and China?

Yezhkov said: You are absolutely right. Therefore, a most natural step for both sides is to first of all do well in the area they want to develop, seek a focus and field of cooperation, and treat it as a special object for active support. Undoubtedly, there is a focus. Like the scientific and technological development plans of the Soviet Union and China, the world scientific community is also engaged in the same areas of research. The only difference lies in the fact that ours have more of our own distinct characteristics and are in more accord with our own practical conditions. Therefore, there is an objective foundation for scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and China.

(Karipov) asked: What are China's views in this respect?

Yezhkov said: Song Jian, head of the Chinese Government delegation and state councillor, made a proposal when talking about [words indistinct] of the Chinese Government—that is, there should be cooperation in major areas of scientific and technological development. We are very satisfied in this respect. The areas of cooperation include biotechnology, new structural materials, information technology, electricity, communications, and foodstuffs. The two countries might undertake joint study in basic science—that is, Soviet and Chinese scientists engaged in basic scientific research will soon meet and work out concrete areas of cooperation.

Yezhkov finally stressed: The Soviet and Chinese Governments will surely give special support to this area of cooperation.

Sino-Soviet Economic Cooperation Promoted

OW2408060889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Station commentator (Kalalev) on Soviet-Chinese Economic Relations]

[Text] After the Sino-Soviet summit meeting in May this year, the topic of Sino-Soviet relations is of special public interest. At a recent meeting of the Supreme Soviet, Gorbachev said that he would always resolutely make full use of the results of his visit to the People's Republic of China. The Soviet leader called for all-out efforts to promote mutually-beneficial cooperation between the two countries in all fields. Our station commentator (Kalalev) will discuss Sino-Soviet economic relations:

It is very difficult to find any economic departments in either country which do not have contacts with their counterparts in the other country. Border trade between the Soviet Union and China has expanded in both scale and content, extending far beyond the limits of border oblasts and provinces. Merchandise turnover between the two countries this year will increase by 17 percent to exceed $3 billion, compared with last year. The Soviet Union supplies China with various equipment, machine tools, trucks, small cars, and railroad cars. It is making electric locomotives, generator sets, and other equipment ordered by China. China is exporting to the Soviet Union such commodities as mineral ores, consumer goods, grain, fertilizer, and textile goods.

Some agreements on integrated corporation and joint ventures have already been signed, and more agreements will be signed later. On construction, a good example is the agreement on building the railroad between Wusu and Alashankou in Xinjiang. After completion in 1991, it will connect many parts of China with the European part of the Soviet Union, and with various European and Middle East nations. According to economists' estimates, the railroad will cut the freight costs between the Soviet Union and China by 30 to 50 percent. The construction of the new railroad clearly shows the international obligation assumed by the Soviet Union and China in the course of cooperation.

It is obvious that the new stage in Sino-Soviet relations conforms to the interests of our two countries, as well as those of the international community.

Polar Cooperation With PRC Reported

LD2308091689 Moscow TASS in English 0756 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Leningrad August 23 TASS—A delegation from the Leningrad Arctic and Antarctic scientific research institute today left Leningrad for Beijing to attend consultations on Sino-Soviet cooperation in Antarctic studies.

The Soviet delegation will inform the Chinese national Antarctic research committee on wether forecasts and sea-going conditions for this summer in the area of the South Shetland Islands and Prydz Bay, as well as in the Antarctic Ocean zone, which the Chinese scientific vessel "Judy" will visit.

The delegation head, oceanologist Albert Romanov, stressed that Soviet scientists are following with interest the work of Chinese pole explorers, who are constantly expanding their studies of Antarctica.

In 1985 the researchers raised a flag at the Great Wall station on the Vaterloo (King George) Island, and last summer they began building the Zong Shang station in Prydz Bay at the foothills of Larsemann. Soviet pole researchers have long been studying both regions.

The Soviet Bellingshausen station is situated; a kilometer from the Chinese Great Wall station and scientific research has been conducted there for over 20 years.

Soviet summer field bases were set up in Prydz Bay and on Amery and Lambert shelf glaciers, and in 1987 the Winter Progress station was opened there.

This Antarctic summer the Soviet diesel vessel "Vladimir Arsenyev" will be in the area to assist the Chinese scientific team if required.

Northeast Asia

Joint Business Talks With Japan Open in Moscow

OW2308114289 Tokyo KYODO in English 1023 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 23 KYODO—Business leaders from Japan and the Soviet Union opened a three-day meeting Wednesday to discuss ways to expand economic exchanges between the two countries.

Soviet Premier Nikolay I. Ryzhkov, in a message read at the opening session, said economic cooperation between Japan and the Soviet Union has not reached a level commensurate with their economic power, Japanese sources said.

Vladislav L. Malkevich, president of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry and head of the Soviet delegation, stressed the importance of Soviet-Japanese economic relations amid the expanding reforms being promoted by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the sources said.

Malkevich said the proposed establishment of a special economic zone in the Soviet Union would stimulate promotion of joint ventures between the two nations.

Ryoichi Kawai, chairman of Komatsu Ltd. and head of the Japanese delegation, said the Japanese side would agree to a Soviet proposal for creation of a Far East commission as a standing committee of the Japan-Soviet Business Cooperation Committee, the sources said.

Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, in a message sent to the conference, expressed hope for expansion of bilateral economic relations.

Kaifu indirectly called for an early settlement of the dispute over the Soviet-held northern islands to pave the way for stable political relations between the two countries, they said.

The conference is the 12th joint meeting of the Tokyo-based Japan-Soviet Business Cooperation Committee and its Soviet counterpart.

Japan's cooperation for development projects in Siberia is a major topic of discussion at the meeting.

The Japanese delegation comprises some 170 businessmen and government officials, including Takehiro Togo, director general of the Foreign Ministry's European and Oceanic Affairs Bureau.

Ryzhkov Greets Trade Conference

LD2308194789 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—If trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Japan are to be increased, both sides need to work towards this goal, Vladislav Malkevich, chairman of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said.

He was speaking at the 12th joint conference of the Soviet-Japanese and the Japanese-Soviet committees for economic cooperation, which opened at Moscow's world trade centre today.

The Japanese delegation is led by Ryoichi Kawai, head of the Japanese-Soviet committee and chairman of the board of Komatsu Ltd.

The Soviet business community would like to hope that the conference will give a fresh impulse to Soviet-Japanese trade and economic relations, now impeded by certain difficulties, said Malkevich, who leads the Soviet delegation.

Seeking closer involvement in international business cooperation, the Soviet Union has begun to try out such new forms of interaction as the establishment of consortia, free enterprise zones, joint ventures, cooperative production arrangements, leasing and others, Malkevich said.

He noted, however, that these new forms of cooperation are slow to develop with Japanese firms.

Last year bilateral trade topped 3.1 billion rubles and Soviet exports exceeded one billion rubles for the first time, but Japanese imports from the USSR showed practically no structural improvement and continued to be dominated by timber, coal, non-ferrous and rare metals, fish and fish products.

The time has come to lay a solid treaty foundation for bilateral business relations, Malkevich said, recalling that the Japanese have still not responded to Soviet offers of a comprehensive agreement for developing trade and economic relations, a treaty on mutual guarantees for investments and an agreement on opening offices of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry and of the Soviet Bank of Foreign Economic Affairs in Japan.

He stressed that the conference should discuss ways of overcoming these and other existing difficulties.

The meeting, attended by some 400 Japanese and Soviet business people, heard messages of greeting from Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his Japanese opposite number Toshiki Kaifu.

The two heads of government pointed out the great potential of trade and economic cooperation and said that such meetings help strengthen mutual trust and improve understanding between Soviet and Japanese people, and are important to developing the entire package of bilateral relations.

Yazov Attends Mongolian Anniversary Meeting 21 Aug

PM2308161189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report under the general heading "Unfading Pages of History"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the capital's public and servicemen from the Moscow Garrison devoted to the 50th anniversary of the routing of the imperialist Japanese forces in the region of the Halhin Gol River was held at the House of the Unions' Hall of Columns 21 August.

The meeting presidium comprised Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Hero of the Soviet Union Marshal of Aviation A.P. Silantyev, chairman of the Soviet War Veterans Committee; Major General D. Gendenpil, Mongolian first deputy defense minister; Zh. Enkhsaykhan, Mongolian charge d'affaires in the USSR; Soviet Armed Forces admirals and officers, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and participants in the fighting at Halhin Gol.

The meeting was opened by Yu.A. Prokofyev, second secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee.

A report was delivered by Army General I.M. Voloshin, military adviser and inspector with the group of USSR Defense Ministry general inspectors.

Those present were addressed by Maj Gen D. Gendenpil, Mongolian first deputy defense minister. He noted that the historic victory at Halhin Gol had been an instructive lesson for imperialist aggressors. It had demonstrated the courage of Soviet and Mongolian servicemen.

A concert was held after the meeting.

Receives Delegation

PM2308161789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report under the general heading "Unfading Pages of History"]

[Text] The Mongolian military delegation headed by Major General D. Gendenpil, Mongolian first deputy defense minister, which is in the Soviet Union to mark the 50th anniversary of the rout of the imperialist Japanese troops at Halhin Gol has been received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

The meeting was attended by Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; and Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation members visited the servicemen of the Kantemir Division on 22 August.

Vladivostok Plant Advertizes for ROK Partner

SK2208120389 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 16 Aug 89

["Advertisement to South Korean Companies"]

[Text] We will now carry an advertisement to South Korean companies. [music]

The (?chemical) company No 100 located in Vladivostok City in Primorskiy Kray in the Soviet Union is looking for partners to jointly process coal (?left overs) from the thermal power plants in the Far East and to produce (?building materials) with them.

If facilities are provided by partners, 500,000 tons of annual production are anticipated.

The company is waiting for your response. [music]

The address of the company is 690022, Vladivostok City, (?Vladivostok Boulevard), (?Centennial Street), #159. The name of the street means the 100th anniversary of Vladivostok.

The telephone number of the (?chemical) company No 100 is 96-5-36 and its telex number is 213212.

We will repeat the address of the company for your response. The address of the company is 690022, Vladivostok City, (?Vladivostok Boulevard), (?Centennial Street), #159. The name of the street means the 100th anniversary of Vladivostok.

The telephone number of the (?chemical) company No 100 is 96-5-36 and its telex number is 213212.

This has been an advertisement.

17 Aug Moscow Soiree Recalls Korean Liberation

PM2208114389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Public Soiree"]

[Text] On 17 August a public soiree was held in Moscow to mark the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule.

Among those present at the soiree were Soviet Armed Forces veterans who participated in the events of those years when, as a result of the defeat of the Japanese militarist troops by the Soviet Army, the Korean people in the north of the country stepped on the path of the building of socialism. The years following the liberation, the speakers noted, proved years of fruitful development of political, economic, and cultural links between the USSR and the DPRK. The Soviet Union will continue to promote the development and deepening of friendship and collaboration between the two countries' peoples.

Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, said that the Korean people still remember the heroic deeds of the Soviet people and their army in assisting their liberation. He spoke about the course of socialist building in the DPRK and about the struggle to reunite the motherland on a peaceful, democratic basis. We support the USSR's efforts to deepen perestroyka and build a world without violence or wars, the ambassador noted in conclusion.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Singapore Offer To Host U.S. Bases Opposed

HK2408044989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Philippine President Corazon Aquino has called on ASEAN leaders to air their positions on the presence of the American military bases in the Philippines, whose agreement is due to end in September 16, 1991. This issue has serious implications, especially on bilateral relations between the United States and the Philippines, and it has been further complicated by Singapore's declaration of its willingness to allow the Americans to station their military facilities in their territory. This action by Singapore has resulted in opposition by many countries, particularly Malaysia which has warned that tension in the region may increase, especially in view of the latest developments.

Meanwhile other countries have branded Singapore's offer to host the American facilities as a ploy to pressure the Philippines. This was declared by an observer in the daily PRAVDA, the Soviet Union's national newspaper.

Commentary Views Offer

HK2408044789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Commentary by Viktor (Khonov)]

[Text] As the 10th ASEAN Interparliamentary Conference gets under way in Manila, its delegates are closely scrutinizing the region's main problems. In this regard, Philippine President Corazon Aquino has emphasized the conference's main priority, which is the matter of peace and progress in the region. The Philippine delegation has demurred from including in the conference agenda the issue of foreign military bases in Southeast Asia, as well as Singapore's proposal for the Americans to station their military facilities in that country, because it is feared that this would adversely affect the meeting. Reports also say that Singapore has opposed the inclusion in the conference of its announced offer to the United States. Earlier Singapore had declared its willingness to offer its territory to the United States for stationing their military bases. However this proposal has generated some controversy, resulting in more complicated negotiations between Washington and Manila on the future of the Pentagon's largest military bases outside the United States—Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, which are larger in size than Singapore itself.

The present agreement ends in September 16, 1991. The terms of the agreement stipulate that the Philippine Government must give notice to Washington 1 year before the expiry of the treaty in order to determine whether it plans to retain the bases. Recently Washington agreed to pay a higher rent for the facilities, amounting to two-and-a-half times more than the present rent. However the Philippine Government is asking for $1 billion, for the last 2 years [as heard]. Meanwhile America has paid only $480 million. The bargaining will undoubtedly continue. And because of this, many believe that Singapore's offer to the United States was made so as to put the squeeze on the Philippine Government. It is claimed that if the Philippines remains firm in its demand, it will lose its dollar earnings. Should this happen, Singapore's credibility as well as its purportedly neutral position in ASEAN will suffer.

Manglapus Meets ASEAN Conference Delegates

HK2308052189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] The 10th ASEAN Interparliamentary Conference has opened in Manila. Attending the conference are 78 delegates from the countries comprising this organization, excluding Brunei, which has no parliament. Also attending the conference are observers from Australia, Canada, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union. Heading the Soviet delegation is the second head of the Soviet ministers of the Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republics [as heard] (Filreat Saviev). The Soviet officials were received by Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus.

The conference, whose theme is ASEAN in the 21st century, will explore a wide range of issues. These include ways to ensure peace in the region; perspectives toward a Southeast Asian common market, along the lines of the European one; and an antinarcotics strategy.

Delegate Tabeyev Speaks

LD2308194489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0552 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Manila, 23 Aug—TASS Correspondent Sergey Almazov reports:

The 10th conference of the interparliamentary organization of ASEAN continues its work in the capital of the Philippines. There was an exchange of views today among delegations taking part in the forum in the capacity of observers.

The USSR welcomes the positive trends being engendered in the Asia-Pacific Region, the world's largest and most dynamically developing region, said F.A. Tabeyev, the head of the Soviet delegation, USSR people's deputy, and first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, in his speech. A start has clearly been made on seeking a balance of interests, equitable partnership, and harmony. Ways of unblocking chronic conflicts and ways of reaching peaceful political settlements are being outlined. Forms of broad regional cooperation are being studied. We consider ourselves to be correct in viewing the participation of our delegation in the current ASEAN session in that context.

However, the head of the Soviet delegation noted, such phenomena still current in the Asia-Pacific Region as the continuing process of militarization, the deployment of nuclear missiles, and the expansion of the miltary programs of certain countries cannot fail to give rise to concern. The USSR calls upon the countries and peoples of the region to put an end to such a dangerous course of developments fraught with unpredictable consequences for its part the USSR is reinforcing its call with unilateral practical steps to cut the numbers of its troops and arms. The USSR supports the idea of making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality—as well as a nuclear weapons-free zone—and is ready to do all it can to promote the achievement of this, taking into account the interests of all states in this region.

Soviet legislators, F.A. Tabeyev said in conclusion, favor cooperation with the ASEAN inter parliamentary organization on a permanent basis. Our country, including the USSR Supreme Soviet, is ready to do all it can to promote the constructive process of warming the international climate in the Asia-Pacific Region and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation between countries in the region.

Indonesian President To Make 1st Visit in 25 Years

LD2408095389 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Jakarta August 24 TASS—Indonesian Secretary of State Murdiono has described the forthcoming visit of President Suharto to the Soviet Union, the first trip by an Indonesian head of state to the USSR in the past 25 years, as an important event in bilateral relations.

Speaking here on Wednesday, Murdiono said that political and economic changes pursued by the Soviet Government as well as Indonesian reform to streamline and regulate the economy had given the two countries the possibility to develop mutually advantageous and equal cooperation in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Spirit of Compromise Seen at Cambodian Talks

BK2408094289 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Station observer Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] The international conference on Cambodia continues its work in Paris. Following a quiet interlude, a fresh spate of activity has been observed in the committees examining prospects of solving the various aspects of the conflict. Intermediaries have gone into action. The co-chairmen of the conference, France and Indonesia, have just put forward a plan for creating an interim government in Cambodia. Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov writes:

For me, it is quite difficult to fathom the reaction of the Khmer parties to France and Indonesia's plan. In my opinion, this new plan is very important. Mutual accusations have been heard throughout the conference [words indistinct] were not sweet to the ears. But, that has not only dictated the atmosphere of the Paris conference. Apparently, there is now a sense of compromise as well. Most of the Cambodian parties involved in the talks wish to see the conference produce an accord. Their positions have been extremely disparate. But the disparity is quickly being eliminated as foreign participants with good judgment have been trying hard to help the Khmer factions. As an example, there is the latest effort of France and Indonesia.

At present, the polarization in the Khmer parties' positions can be seen in the question of forming a temporary government.

Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia, has put forward the following plan: The Government of the State of Cambodia shall remain intact until the general elections. In the meantime, this government shall set up a supreme steering council to be headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and assigned to organize the elections.

As for Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, he has made the following proposal: The present government in Cambodia shall be dissolved and replaced by a quadripartite government with the participation of the Khmer Rouge.

Concerning Khmer Rouge participation in the government, the conference has run into some misunderstanding from the beginning. Among several pretexts is the one frequently used by opposition groups when they accuse Phnom Penh of trying to isolate the Khmer Rouge [words indistinct] and the situation at the conference becomes hard to [word indistinct]. Frequent discussions with France help us understand that Comrade Hun Sen's position has been distorted. [words indistinct] falsely think that this condition would deprive the Pol Potists—the Khmer Rouge—of the possibility of wresting back power through the use of force and restoring their genocidal regime.

The Khmer Rouge themselves have not opposed their participation in a solution.

France and Indonesia have come up with a compromise solution. The two countries have proposed going ahead and creating an interim government headed by Comrade Hun Sen without setting up a supreme steering council. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk would be appointed head of state, and the government would organize general elections shortly after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

According to the Phnom Penh delegation's statements, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia will be completed by 27 September. I would like to stress that I still have no idea of the reaction of the Khmer parties. I still do not know whether they accept or reject the French-Indonesian plan. However, the two factions—Phnom Penh and the opposition groups—have said they wanted to study this plan. The spirit of compromise and the desire for an accord have prevailed over the spirit of confrontation, which was so dominant during the first stage of the conference. This is a good sign.

Rogachev Receives Thai Students 15 Aug

PM2208115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 15 August I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received a group of students from Thailand's National Defense College which is here in Moscow, and which is made up of influential representatives of the country's financial and business circles.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Sends Message to UN on Lebanon

LD2308162689 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today sent a message to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

The Soviet Union feels the most serious concern over the tragic events in Lebanon, the message points out. Many years of civil war in this country provided graphic proof that the Lebanese crisis has no military solution.

In these conditions the step taken by the UN secretary general in order to urgently convene the Security Council looks timely and justified. This initiative is fully in line with the recent tendency, supported by the Soviet Union, towards active utilization of the great peacemaking potential which the UN secretary general has under the UN Charter. It reaffirms the prestige and great potential of the UN and personally the secretary general in assisting a search for ways to unblock the most complex regional problems.

As a result of close interaction between the UN Security Council and the secretary general it became possible to take a responsible decision—the statement by the Security Council president, aimed at bringing down tensions in Lebanon, putting an end to the bloodshed and getting down to political settlement of this protracted tragic conflict. Of special importance is the fact that the statement is fully in line with the wish of Arab countries, specifically the Committee of Three of the League of Arab States on Lebanon, to take the Lebanese situation out of the deadlock.

The message expresses the hope that the secretary general, guided by the above decision of the Security Council, will take the most active efforts to promote the political settlement of the conflict in Lebanon. A special representative of the UN secretary general on the Middle East, whose designation is being lively discussed, could be helpful in this context.

According to the Soviet Union, the main thing now is to stop the situation from deteriorating, to put an end to the fratricide, violence and destruction, to create conditions for improving political dialogue between Lebanese groups with assistance of the committee of Lebanon of the League of Arab States.

Shevardnadze assured Perez de Cuellar that in fulfilling his noble peacemaking mission, which rests on the dependable foundation of the UN Charter and the support of the world community, he can naturally count on active assistance and help from the Soviet Union.

Syrian Foreign Minister Meets With Tarasov

LD2308174689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1709 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Damascus, 23 Aug (TASS)—Faruq al-Shar', foreign affairs minister of the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR], today met G.P. Tarasov, USSR assistant minister [pomoshchnik ministra] of foreign affairs and special representative for Near East affairs, who arrived yesterday in Damascus.

During their conversation, consideration was given to the situation in Lebanon and effective ways of bringing about a cease-fire and creating the conditions for starting the process of a political settlement of the crisis in the country. The sides noted a coincidence of points of view between the SAR and USSR on the question of the necessity of rendering support to the Arab League's Committee of Three on Lebanon in their implementation of the resolutions of the extraordinary Arab summit in Casablanca on the Lebanese problem.

'Major Offensive' Against Jalalabad Rebels

LD2308113889 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

The Jalalabad garrison has launched a major offensive against rebel troop concentration areas in Chaprahar District in Nangarhar Province in the past twenty four hours.

More than 70 insurgents were killed or injured by missiles and artillery fire. Three rocket launchers and two mortars were destroyed and an ammunition depot was blown up.

The rebels shelled two government security posts, wounding two servicemen. Six Afghan soldiers and officers were wounded by insurgents in Khowst District. The Afghan Army returned fire, killing 19 extremists. Another 13 rebels were killed near Qandahar Airport.

Twenty counterrevolutionaries commanded by Mohammad Karim took the side of the people's government in Samangan Province in response to the government's ceasefire call. The former rebels said they were determined to help the all-round implementation of the policy of national reconciliation.

A public rally was held in Mehtarlam, the Lagman Province's administrative centre. Its participants sent a message to U.S. President George Bush urging him to immediately stop supplies of new "surface-to-surface" missiles, particularly dangerous for civilians, to the rebels.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry has sent another two notes to the United Nations Good Offices in Kabul, citing new facts of Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords.

Komplektov, Red Cross Official Discuss POW's

LD2308195289 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Viktor Komplektov received here today Andre Pasquier, head of the Operations Department of the International Red Cross Committee, now in Moscow for consultations.

The two sides discussed ways of expanding cooperation with the International Red Cross Committee, and, in the first place, in securing the release of Soviet servicemen, now in the hands of the Afghan opposition.

An exchange of opinions was held on the situation in the armed conflict areas where International Red Cross operations are being carried out.

Sharon Controversy Said No Threat to Relations

TA2308190689 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1500 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] There is no official invitation to Minister Ari'el Sharon to visit the USSR. This was stated by Yuriy Gremitskikh, spokesman of the Foreign Ministry in Moscow. Replying to a question by an IZVESTIYA correspondent as to whether Sharon had definitely been invited to pay an official visit in Georgia, he said there has been no official invitation whatsoever, and noted that he had no other comments.

Do not view this as a toughening of the Soviet position toward Israel; there is no toughening here. As you listeners know, relations between our two countries have been expanding recently. Soviet delegations are constantly visiting Israel, while Israeli delegations visit the USSR. Delegations from Israel participate in every international scientific conference convening in our country, while Soviet troupes and theaters visit Israel. The Satirikon theater group, which will perform in 10 cities, arrived in Israel only yesterday. Intensive negotiations are under way regarding the establishment of joint industrial plants and firms, and about numerous projects of scientific, cultural, educational, and commercial cooperation. In other words, the process is one of so-called snow melting—that much is clear.

So, why should Sharon not be invited? Well, Sharon is not a cultural official or an artist. He is a politician, and political relations between the Soviet Union and Israel remain problematic and have not undergone exhaustive normalization as yet.

What is more, Ari'el Sharon is not just another minister in the Israeli Government. We know him: He is the man who led the Israeli Army during the Lebanese war, he is the man who was called—even in Israel—the minister of war rather than the minister of defense. I think the Soviet public would simply not understand it if Minister Sharon were to be the first Israeli minister to visit the USSR.

Air France Plane Hijacked, Lands in Algiers

LD2308203189 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Algiers August 23 TASS—An Air France airliner landed at the Houari Boumedienne Airport in Algiers today. It was hijacked after his departure from the Orly Airport in Paris.

The hijacker, an ethnic Algerian, who lived in Paris, was arrested. He told journalists who gathered at the airport that he hoped to call attention of the international community by his action to the need for ending violence in Lebanon and Palestine.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Leaders' New 'Slogans' Not Enough

PM2308090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by B. Asoyan: "South African Lessons"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A phenomenon of the present situation in South Africa is the illusion of a strong "white" center, which is in fact impotent in the face of mounting pressure from the "black" periphery, demanding more rights and more freedom and growing in confidence as it attacks the remnants of the apartheid system. The ruling bureaucratic stratum is playing for time, trying its luck in secondary areas, in the hope that success there will help postpone the inevitable radical solutions.

This could explain all the elite's projects for a "new society" and the creation of an experimental multiracial political structure in one province of South Africa; the formation of a supreme leading body comprising representatives of all ethnic groups with a presidential rota, and, finally, a "five-year plan" for the modernization of apartheid. The at times absolutely euphoric propaganda about the USSR's alleged change of attitude toward South Africa and the attempts to regard the diversification of our links and information channels as a departure from the principled line of support for the movement against apartheid fall into the same category.

A new generation of politicians is coming to power in South Africa. They are not so strongly bound by the ideological fetters of apartheid. Judging by their statements, they realize that change is inevitable and they are expressing a readiness to put South Africa on the road of fundamental reforms.

This is dictated not so much by the "goodwill" of the South African leadership as by a combination of political, economic, and demographic factors: The white population is continuing to decline proportionately, it is becoming increasingly expensive to maintain apartheid, the antiracist movement is getting out of control, the authority and influence of the African National Congress are growing all the time, and the world community does not intend to relax sanctions until there is a sign of a real advance on the question of power and political rights.

The genuineness of the intentions of the current leaders of the white minority will ultimately be proved not by the splendor of their slogans, but by their readiness to abandon decrepit dogmas and stereotypes and firmly mount the path of dialogue and elaboration of a just formula for a peaceful settlement.

OAU Committee Session on South Africa Assessed

MB2208190089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary; read by announcer]

[Text] The heads of the several African countries are taking part in the meeting of a special Organization of African Unity, OAU, committee on South Africa. As it was announced earlier, the meeting's agenda includes the working out of joint strategy concerning problems in the south of the continent. Judging by affairs, this is called forth by ambiguous situations that took shape today in this region. On the one hand there is no doubt that the general improvement of the international climate has a favorable effect on (?straightening) the conflict in the southwest of Africa. First of all, the Namibian [word indistinct] has been considerably weakened. The tripartite agreements among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa have [words indistinct] the Cuban forces began to be gradually withdrawn from Angola, and South Africa from Namibia, meant real prospects for the appearance of a new independent state on the political map of Africa. But on the other hand, the process of decolonization of Namibia is being complicated by different actions on the side of South Africa, which is striving to preserve and consolidate its position in the future independent state. In discrediting SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in every way, intimidating the local population, and increasing the military presence in the Walvis Bay port, [words indistinct] reached a point that [words indistinct] at the request of the coordinating body of nonaligned countries and several African countries, the Security Council met in session to discuss the situation in Namibia. So far a demobilization of former members of the special punitive Koevoet [counterinsurgency] unit of the Namibian police force became a reality. Till the last moment these commandos were terrorizing the local population, dispersing the preelection meetings of the [word indistinct] of SWAPO.

The situation in Angola was also ambiguous. Almost everyday [words indistinct] are spreading reports of violations by the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] band, of the agreement on a ceasefire, and as a result of disruptions of negotiations between the representatives of the government and UNITA that were resumed several times. At the same time, the UNITA rebel station (?drags) out its broadcasting calls to ignore the Gbadolite accords on a cease-fire.

At a recent 25th session of the assembly of the heads of state and government, members of the Organization of African Unity, it was noted that the positive development of events in the south of Africa on the whole was evident. At the same time, it was necessary to take action directed at all settlements in the region. It is in that context that the meeting of the special OAU committee on the south of Africa is today taking place.

East Europe

'Anti-Soviet' Deomonstration Reported in Warsaw

LD2408082389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] A large anti-Soviet demonstration took place yesterday in Warsaw. It was devoted to the anniversary of the signing of the sadly known Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty. Demonstrators shouted slogans—Soviets go home—called for Polish tanks to be moved as far as the Volga to take revenge for Lvov and Vilnius, and also demanded freedom for the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Moldavia. In a printed leaflet which issued an appeal to the peoples of central and Eastern Europe, the demonstrators called for 23 August to be declared a day of universal protest by peoples deprived of the right to self-determination by the Muscovite empire.

More on Warsaw Demonstration

PM2408100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Anti-Soviet Demonstration"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Aug—An anti-Soviet demonstration, marking the anniversary of the 1939 Soviet-German treaty, was organized today by members of Polish extremist groups.

Following a brief rally in one of Warsaw's central squares 200-300 young people proceeded to the USSR embassy. The flags of various bellicose "Solidarity" groupings, anarchists, the independent union of students, and so forth waved above the crowd. All the time the demonstrators were shouting slogans: "Down with the Soviets," "Down with the Commune"; they called for "Polish tanks to move in as far as the Volga"; they sang songs about "revenge for Lvov and Vilnius" and demanded "freedom for the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Moldavia."

Shouting slogans and obscenities, the mob stopped for a while outside the Soviet embassy. The demonstrators busied themselves distributing a provocative leaflet—the so-called "appeal to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe," which calls for 23 August to be recognized as a "day of universal protest by the peoples deprived by the Moscow empire of the right to self-determination."

PZPR Statement on 1939 Pact Reported

LD2308192789 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 23 TASS—The Soviet-German non-aggression pact described as Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, that was signed on August 23, 1939, and the treaty on friendship and frontier between Germany and the Soviet Union of September 28, 1939, with the secret protocols attached meant gross violation of a number of generally recognised principles of international law, says a statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) adopted at a meeting here.

Analysing the events that were condemned also by Soviet and Polish public, the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee holds that all the decisions regarding Poland were null and void from the very start. This view, however, does not interfere with the provision on the borders established in Europe and does not affect it in any way, the document says.

The statement of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee that the Soviet-German pacts run counter to the principles of international law and are regarded by Poland as null and void from the moment they were signed is of substantial importance for Poland and its citizens in the context of international law, said a spokesman of the Polish Foreign Ministry. The Polish Foreign Ministry also emphasises with all the responsibility that this stand in no way affects the frontiers existing in Europe after the Second World War, including the Soviet-Polish frontier.

Gorbachev 'Confidence' in PZPR Viewed

PM2408084189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Toporkov report: "The Point at Issue Is the Government Program"]

[Text] Warsaw—A Sejm session began work on 23 August. No one is in any doubt that the Sejm will ratify the nomination of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Everyone is more interested in knowing what the new prime minister's platform will be.

TRYBUNA LUDU, in an article entitled "Only in Accordance with the Round Table Agreements," writes that when agreeing to participate in the new government the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] would like to know what kind of government it is going to be part of and, consequently, would like a place befitting its political experience and cadre potential.

"The point at issue," the newspaper goes on, "is the quality of the government program. The party's desire was, is, and will remain to change and improve the socialist system and give it modern features. Because this is the party's raison d'etre and its historic mission, for which it remains answerable to working people."

T. Mazowiecki has held another series of consultations, notably with M. Orzechowski, chairman of the PZPR deputies' club, and has met with M. Kozakiewicz, marshal of the Sejm, and A. Stelmachowski, marshal of the Senate.

At a news conference J. Bisztyga, press spokesman of the PZPR Central Committee, reported on the PZPR Central Committee Politburo session which examined questions connected with the formation of the new government. He also reported on the 40-minute telephone conversation between M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Soviet leader expressed confidence that the PZPR will successfully resolve the existing social, political, and economic problems in the interests of the Polish people and of socialism. The conviction was also expressed that Poland's problems cannot be resolved without the PZPR's participation.

Mazowiecki Addresses Citizens' Parliamentary Club

LD2308192989 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 23 TASS—A government other than broad coalition government supported by all the forces represented in the Sejm cannot be formed in

Poland now, said candidate to the post of Poland's prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He addressed today a meeting with members of the citizens' parliamentary club—deputies of the Sejm and senators elected on the Solidarity ticket. President of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski promised his assistance in this which is very important, Mazowiecki said.

What requires the greatest skill now is not the formation of cabinet in itself, but providing conditions for its effective work, he said. "I realise that my government perhaps will not exist for long, but I think that it will still alter something", Mazowiecki said. "The political principle that only one party, one political camp should form the next government has been altered. We have thus entered a new stage of history, which is a fact of great importance", Mazowiecki emphasised.

Mazowiecki said he does not know of any miraculous means of the solution of economic problems but believes the time has come to end debates and take decisions. He is of the opinion that one of the most important task of the new government will be to ensure progress toward a law-governed state.

Formation of New Polish Government Viewed

PM2308192189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by A. Bondar, APN Own Correspondent, for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Past Mistakes and Future Plans"]

[Text] Warsaw—The ordinary man often perceives politics from the viewpoint of what he sees in the store windows. The Poles are no exception, even though they have lost none of their innate passion for discussing politics. And those store windows look very, very bleak today. Then suddenly, matches disappeared in Warsaw and along with them, cigarettes. Next, safety razors and shaving cream. The situation with footwear and dozens of other commodities is bad. You have to join the race for washing powder. Free prices have been introduced for meat products but the supply has not improved. Goods rise in price while you are standing in line to pay for them. True, the strikes are continuing but the wages are being paid somehow. But what happenes if the printing presses have to work non-stop churning out zlotys which lose value even before they get into people's hands? Inflation. A shortage of raw materials and disruptions in the work of industry. A fall in labor productivity. Political crisis....

It is in this situation that Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Solidarity candidate nominated by the president to be prime minister, is holding consultations and meetings with the representatives of political life and various social forces in the country in the formation of a government. Until recently he was chief editor of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. During the martial law period he was interned, by training he is a lawyer and even earlier, before the crisis erupted in Poland in 1980, he was an independent intellectual. The president proposed his nomination to parliament after Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], had resigned several days before. Now the door to the prime minister's office on Aleje Ujazdowskie may be opened by a man with no party card.

Adam Michnik, one of the Solidarity leaders, stated a few months ago: "The president is yours, the prime minister is ours." At that time this was perceived more as publicity-seeking: Nevertheless, it is necessary to break the stereotypes and structures, experience and practice are needed, whereas the opposition had only recently emerged from underground and was starting from scratch. This approach to the statement seemed to be confirmed also by the fact that at first the opposition effectively declared a boycott and began refusing any participation in the government after Czeslaw Kiszczak set about forming a cabinet. His nomination to the post of the country's prime minister, incidentally, passed amazingly smoothly in parliament at the beginning of August.

Then suddenly—a bolt from the blue: Lech Walesa proposed to the former partners of the PZPR—the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party—that they organize a coalition of their own and create a government which enjoyed the people's confidence.

The PZPR remained out of the picture, both literally and figuratively. The shock to the party was so great that even in the Central Committee's statement on its attitude to what had happened the editorial hand was unable to remove the emotional content. The statement reproaches the former allies and claims that unless the PZPR receives a participation in the government equal to its position and weight, then the party absolves itself of responsibility for the development of the situation in the country. Such a reaction is natural: It turns out that the PZPR was the only one to fully observe the round-table accords.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, it seems, has tried to smooth over the situation somewhat, stating in an interview that he advocates a broad coalition in government. There is one subtle difference here: The party had campaigned for a grand [preceding word published in boldface] coalition.

For the time being the party can almost certainly claim the defense and internal affairs portfolios. But this, in the PZPR's opinion, would be only a semblance of participation. The main thing would be lost: influence over determining policy. There are rumors that the foreign minister's post could also be taken by a PZPR representative. But these are all just rumors for now....

Lech Walesa has added a new problem: He has called on the PZPR to reject the statement—essentially, the position it expresses—and only then could talks on the principles for forming a government begin....

In short, as a political force the PZPR is now in an exceptionally difficult situation. It has reached the point where others can start dictating terms. A point beyond which it would need to become an opposition party—with all the consequences that entails. Of course, political shortcomings took their toll, as did the fact that in the eyes of most of the population the PZPR is currently unable to get Poland out of the crisis. As did the fact that the party had forgotten how to struggle during its long years of monopolizing power. Unlike "Solidarity," which has an excellent command of the methodology of political struggle forged during the period of underground and illegal activity.

So that's how the situation looks, a situation which, like everything in Poland, is difficult to predict.

Why, then, did Solidarity shoot ahead so drastically? From assertions after the June parliamentary elections that those to blame for the country's crisis should get out of it, and statements that only then could there be any question of Solidarity representatives' taking part in the government to a sharp, almost shocking attack? It seems to me there are several reasons for this but the chief ones are as follows: This offensive was partly forced upon it, because Solidarity feared losing the authority and influence, thanks to which it had won the biggest representation in the Sejm and the Senate in June. The time had come to settle the bills: Solidarity's refusal to shoulder its share of responsibility was already being criticized increasingly strongly. Second, the situation was too opportune and advantageous not to take the chance of dictating its own terms.

How will the new government extricate the country from crisis? Is there a specific plan? Essentially, most people are not interested who is in power, they're interested in what's in the stores and whether they have enough money to lead a normal life. But somehow the new people in power will have to convince the Poles that they have to tighten their belts. Otherwise it will not be possible to do anything. Tadeusz Mazowiecki states that he is relying on the Poles' conscientiousness and their readiness to unite and accept hardships. Is he counting on enthusiasm? Perhaps. Some people maintain that for a while one can mount a campaign of settling scores with the past, total criticism of everything that existed before. If so, how long will it suffice? Some people think that we can expect some restrictions on Western capital in Poland to be lifted. Perhaps so. For the time being, however, it is mere conjecture.

One thing in any event is inescapable: It is not going to be an easy life for the new government, the prime minister, or Solidarity, which by acquiring de facto the features of a political party, will quite possibly become one de jure as well.

'Social Tension Mounting' in Poland

LD2308134989 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 23 Aug 89

["Social Tension Mounting in Poland"—TASS headline]

[Text] Warsaw August 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Potemkin:

Preparation of children for the school year is a troublesome affair for Polish families nowadays. The so-called mechanism of marked economy, in force as of August 1st, has not only set prices on food products skyrocketing for several weeks now, but worsened supplies in general, boosted the prices of other goods too, including school stationary. Particularly hard hit are families with many children and single mothers.

The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the All-Polish Trade Union Alliance has called on enterprises and labour collectives to render urgent material assistance to schools. In its statement issued today, the Executive Committee urges the Government of the Polish People's Republic to fulfil its commitments to the system of public education thereby ensuring a smooth beginning of the new school year.

Normal life is also disrupted in many areas of Poland by a mounting wave of stoppages, strikes and labour conflicts caused by ever new demands for sharp wage increases to make up for growing prices. Economic losses are accumulating.

Thus, the strike at the Lodz freight railway station, called this Tuesday [22 August], has deranged the normal operation of many factories in this major Polish textile centre, worsened sharply not only the supply of raw materials to industrial enterprises, but also paralysed the delivery of the most necessary food products to the trading network. The railwaymen are threatening to further escalate the strike.

The negotiations of Silesian miners, on strike for a week now, with their economic executives, have landed in an impasse. The miners, who are on a sit-in strike, turn a deaf ear to arguments that their respective enterprises and associations are short of money to raise wages in the demanded dimensions.

The strike of transport workers, servicing post offices, telegraph and telephone services in four major industrial voivodships of Poland, including Katowice, threaten to leave the population without letters, newspapers, money remittances and pensions. The population is seriously alarmed by the mounting conflict between the administration and Polish power workers, who also demand higher wages, The catering workers of Tarnow threaten to close down food stores in the town.

Reports of strikes among timber, coke-chemistry and transport workers, printers and ambulance drivers continue to come in from different Polish voivodships. Many enterprises remain in strike- readiness.

Solidarity's Michnik Visits Moscow, Interviewed

LD2308193689 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Even a few months ago, an activist of Polish Solidarity, Adam Michnik, was described in a negative light in the Soviet press and named among those who are blocking the construction of socialism in Poland. Recently, he visited Moscow and was interviewed by our reporter. [passage omitted]

When he was asked about his idea of a future government, Michnik said that Poland today needs a government that would not be afraid to lose its popularity by taking certain steps. Our part of Europe, he said, is facing a serious choice. Either we manage to destroy the totalitarian Stalinist order, both at home and in international affairs, or we're in for upheaval, primarily national enmity, violence, and blood. We must try to understand each other and heal our common wounds in order to avoid trouble.

I think, Adam Michnik went on to say, that we must work out a new order that usually emerges in process. [sentence as heard] We know what we do not want, and will try to change it. We're not clinging to some one mode or doctrine; this won't do us any good. The lives of people are more important that doctrines, and even more so when it comes to nations.

When I think of the future relations of the Poles with their neighbors—the Germans, the Russians, the Czechs—ordinary people and their needs are most important to me. [passage omitted]

All his life Adam Michnik has been considered an extremist, an opposition figure. However, he said he would be happy to stop being that when the government becomes democratic. [passage omitted]

When some people in Poland attack the compromises of the roundtable talks, they attack me because I am one of the architects of the roundtable, the policy that has led to compromise. One can also speak of a foreign policy compromise, which of late has been seen in the steps taken by the Soviet Union. [passage omitted)

Polish Deputy Discusses Polish-USSR Relations

LD2308211889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: video report by Yu. Ulyanov]

[Text] A press conference, addressed by Jan Bisztyga, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee press spokesman, took place in Warsaw. He stated that the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, assessing the Soviet-German treaty signed exactly 50 years ago, considers that all its provisions concerning the fate of Poland contradict international law. However, that assessment, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo decision stresses, does not affect the existing borders in Europe. Comrade Bisztyga also told journalists about a telephone conversation which took place betwen Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The Soviet leader expressed the conviction that the PZPR will solve its difficult problems by itself and that the USSR has an interest in a positive development of the situation in Poland. [video shows Bisztyga, flanked by two other men, addressing press conference; correspondent talking to camera in a lobby]

The Sejm, which is meant to approve the prime minister, commenced work today. As we have already reported, he will most probably be Tadeusz Mazowiecki, one of the Solidarity leaders. However, let's make use of the interval. What do representatives of the opposition, who are on the point of heading the government, think about the Soviet-Polish treaty signed by Comrades Gorbachev and Jaruzelski last summer?

[Begin recording of J. Onyszkiewicz, Solidarity deputy in the Sejm, identified by screen caption, in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] I am not authorized to speak on behalf of the government, but I think that Poland will observe that treaty. I have already told U.S. television about this, incidentally. We want to restore the health of our economy, and we want Poland to be stable, and the USSR also has an interest in Poland's stability. Our readiness to be true to all our international obligations stems from this. We understand that such a state as the USSR has certain interests connected with Poland—economic, political and strategic interests—and we shall respect them. [video shows Onyszkiewicz and correspondent talking in a corridor; general views of the floor of the Sejm] [end recording]

Ligachev Receives MSZMP's Burgert for Talks

LD2308173389 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, today received Robert Burgert, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. During a comradely conversation, there was an exchange of information about the political life in the Soviet Union and Hungary, about the activity of the Soviet Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Some questions of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation, of greater interaction in the area of the agri-industrial complex were discussed.

Robert Burgert was staying in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Hungary's Nyers Views 1956 'National Tragedy'

PM2308151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech by R. Nyers"]

[Text] Budapest, 21 Aug—Political renewal is always based on the renewal of the economy, since these two spheres are inextricably interlinked, R. Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], stated during a rally in Miskolce on 20 August, the holiday of St Stephen, founder of the Hungarian state.

The MSZMP, the speaker noted, is moving along the path of radical political renewal. The renewal program proclaimed 1 year ago promoted transformations in all party organizations. The party congress due next October will be the final milestone in this period. The MSZMP intends to use all the assets of its historical past and disassociate itself from those mistakes and shortcomings which hindered its development. The party has become convinced that the economic and political model of the fifties was wrong. The events of 1956 may be viewed as a national tragedy which halted the considerable reform initiatives which had begun in the Hungarian Workers Party.

The MSZMP draft program statement, the leader continued, proclaims a new model which leads from state socialism to democratic socialism. The document points out that the MSZMP will continue to be the workers' party. However, it intends to be the party of all the people. In this party all sections of the population will be able to find opportunities to ensure that their interests, opinions, and views are reflected within the party's framework.

Current Situation in Hungary Analyzed

LD2008213289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Aug 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by political observer Igor Kudrin; Ye. Shirokov video report from Budapest, Hungary]

[Text] [Kudrin] Hello, Comrades. From our school desks, from various textbooks, both already obsolete and those recommended today, we have grasped, and grasp, one very important truth: One of the fundamental trends of the Soviet state's foreign policy is to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist states. A continual search for ways to revive socialism on the basis of its original values is currently under way in the socialist world. The experience of our perestroyka illustrates how complicated this task is. Every fraternal country is implementing renewal processes on the basis of its own particular conditions. Nobody today calls for the blind copying of others, and the most reliable foundation for the unity of the socialist states lies, using the words of the general secretary of our party's Central Committee, not in unification, nor in forming everyone up in order of size, but in the ability to derive useful lessons for everyone from diversity. This idea has been expressed figuratively by an ideological official in the GDR: If your neighbor changes his wallpaper at home, why be obliged to do the same?

Life in the world of socialism is interesting, albeit complicated and tense today. Unfortunately, we still know extremely little about what is happening in the homes of our closest friends and brothers, in Havana, Budapest, Bucharest, and Warsaw. This is why I think you will find it interesting to hear an in-depth analytical report by our correspondent from the Hungarian capital:

[Shirokov] August is the peak of the tourist season in Hungary. It seems that once again the number of foreign guests visiting this country with a population of a little over 10 million people will by the end of the year reach 20 million. [video report opens with shots of riverside and street scenes in Budapest, street vendors of tourist books and postcards; cutting to Shirokov to camera on riverside] The stream of people coming in from the West is all the more remarkable among these. Over the past 5 years the number of American travellers and visitors, for example, has doubled. Now 150,000 of them are expected—considerably more than the number of tourists from our country. Yes, there are things to see in Hungary and something to store away in the memory banks. Moreover, here they are able to receive guests with the highest standards.

However, Hungary is also at the center of the West's constant attention for reason of a different sort: There is in this country, which has, on the initiative of the party and Communists, embarked upon the road of political renewal and drastic economic transformations, there is a discordant chorus of debates about the future and the voices of those who advocate moving to the Western model of development are clearly to be heard. That is the position taken, specifically, by the Union of Free Democrats, one of the noteworthy forces in the opposition groups' camp.

How very much can be packed into a few months! Last time we reported for "International Panorama" on what was happening in Hungary it was mid-March, when for the first time the day of the start of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-1849 was marked as a national, state holiday. Let us recall that the alternative or oppositon groups and associations took an independent part for the first time, with their slogans and their program statements, in this festival of the whole people. Some of these have now formed parties. It could be said that on 15 March they presented themselves in close-up to the nation, having stated their urgent desire to take a place on the political stage and to share responsibility for the fate of the country. [video shows aerial shots of mass outdoor meeting, cutting to meeting on the steps of the Hungarian television building] At that time there was a meeting at the Hungarian television building, at which participants expressed demands to make the airwaves free of the state monopoly.

What changes have taken place in society in recent times! [video shows Shirokov to camera in park] I have tried to condense in brief an outline of the theses which describe the changes which have taken place. This is what I ended up with: Party pluralism—as yet there is no law on parties, but their activities are a political reality; parliamentary democracy—the State Assembly is functioning with its former members, but the spirit of the discussions and the decisions is completely different, in the pipeline are a law on elections and a new constitution: renunciation by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] of direct leadership of state institutions; the expected formation of a coalition government; a new attitude to property, when state, cooperative and private property can come together with equal rights in the same package; the transfer to the sale of all, up to 100 percent, shares in enterprises to Western capitalists, and, finally, full glasnost and freedom of speech. The publication nowadays of more than 300 titles of new newspapers and magazines of widely differing persuasions, of the widest political and other hues, is confirmation of that. [video shows Shirokov leafing through magazine containing photograph of partially undressed woman and advertisements for underwear, as well as serious articles]

Pluralism of opinion, with clashes of, at times, differing, and at others, diamterically opposed points of view, was clearly reflected within the MSZMP itself. The first so-called reform groups of the MSZMP, created last fall, of which there are many—more than 300 now—are building up their influence among the party masses and have secured the staging of republican forums, or conferences. The meeting in the town of (Segesd) was particularly noteworthy. Taking part in it were the new chairman of the MSZMP, then a minister of state, Rezsoe Nyers, and also Imre Poszgay, a member of the present ruling four of the MSZMP, its presidium. [video shows meeting in progress] The very fact of the creation at the Central Committee plenum in June of this new body, which, in addition to those mentioned, included MSZMP Secretary General Karoly Grosz and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the republican Council of Ministers, signified a compromise reached in the name of preserving the unity of the party, which outlined several platforms and created the threat of a split. [video shows selection of magazines printing pictures of the four above-mentioned leaders]

In NEPSZABADSAG today one still encounters material under the heading: "Platforms, Differences, and Arguments," in which the positions of, say, the Marxist united platform and those of representatives of one or other of the reformist circles grapple with each other. New truths, possibly, are born out of the fire of ideological clashes of this kind, as long as they don't at the same time lose their ability to fight. Replying to the question about which features will predominate in the party, social democratic ones or communist ones, Rezso Nyers stated recently that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, as it renews itself, will take into account the values of both movements, relying upon the social democratic heritage in its structure and system of contacts with society, and preserving from the communist movement the higher degree of organization and greater boldness in reforms. [video shows clip shows pages from NEPSZABADSAG; shots of the platform at a meeting; and Rezso Nyers speaking to an interviewer, apparently on board an airplane]

The party of the communists, which still plays the determining role in political and spiritual life, is preparing for its 14th congress, scheduled for 6 October. The congress is due to provide the answer to a cardinal question: What are the program reference points with which the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is setting out into the decisive stage of the struggle for power, for influence in society, the struggle against the crisis manifestations in the economy and in the social sphere.

The picture of political life in Hungary today is multicolored and contradictory. Much that seemed to be unacceptable has gradually become the norm. In addition to showing how the new strategy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is being worked out, Hungarian television programs provide information about the actions of its opponents, the other parties and show the progress of the dialogue between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the opposition Roundtable. Even those who express views far removed from socialism are given the floor. We talked about this new quality of Hungarian television with Endre Aczel, editor-in-chief of television news and presenter of the popular programme "A Het"—"The Week." [video shows Budapest street scenes; television studios and apparatus rooms]

[Begin video recording] [Shirokov] Sometimes extreme points of view—as we would put it—are expressed, sometimes opinions of an antisocialist kind, say—I have heard this my self—are voiced. To what extent is it right for such points of view to appear?

[Aczel] One has to get used to the fact that there are views which you have just described as antisocialist. I don't think it's necessary to love them, but one has to exist with them and if this is inevitable, I would say, one has to show them. And I think that this is a healthy principle of the press and communications, that one has to listen to the other side. [Video shows Shirokov interviewinyg Aczel in a television control room in which there can be seen a sign saying "A Het"] [end video recording]

[Kudrin] Of course, even in such an extensive reportage there simply wasn't room to described how the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will be transformed and most likely renamed, to talk about the fact that the post of general secretary and a traditional institution like the Central Committee are going to be abolished. In a word considerable changes are on the way, both in society and in the party.

In talking about Hungary I cannot fail to mention something that is distressing for us all, the long drawn out differences between the Hungarian leadership and the leadership of Romania, which sometimes take on acute forms. They arose in connection with the position of the Hungarian minority which lives on Rumanian territory. And a few days ago we became witnesses of polemics between GRANMA, the newspaper of the Cuban Communists, and MAGYAR NEMZET, the Hungarian newspaper. And the grounds for this were quite unexpected—

the exposure in Cuba of a group of individuals who had been engaged in drug smuggling. A representative of the Budapest newspaper had stated that Havana is allegedly irritated by the search for the democratic path in Moscow, Warsaw, and Budapest. By way of example he referred to the recent banning in Havana of our own newspaper, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and the SPUTNIK magazine. That decision, moreover, was explained at length on the pages of GRANMA. Well that is the sovereign right of the Cuban leadership, to exactly the same extent as is the decision adopted this spring in Budapest abolishing the obligatory teaching of the Russian language in schools: Although the explanation given then by one of the capital's newspapers seemed to me personally not to be very logical. It wrote: Glasnost and perestroyka become Hungarian words when the Russian language ceases to be obligatory. Probably all of us today need to conduct ourselves with regard to one another with extreme tact and restraint, in a truly brotherly way, which certainly does not rule out firmness in defending positions of principle. We are not going to forget that our common ideological enemies in the West would very much like to bring us into conflict, to set us at variance and to drive a wedge between the members of the socialist community. The appropriate campaigns are constantly being conducted in the West for this, directed both against our camp as a whole and against individual states. I can't remember how many poison arrows have been brought down upon Cuba by the United States over three decades, how many efforts are still being made today to denigrate and belittle the complex experience of socialist construction on the island.

Romania's Ceausescu Interviewed, Outlines Aims

PM2308131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by Boris Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA editorial collegium: "A Path Chosen by the People"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Socialist Romania is 45 years old today. On the eve of this portentous date Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Boris Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA editorial collegium, and during the conversation answered questions put to him. Below we publish this interview.

[Averchenko] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, allow me first on behalf of PRAVDA's editorial collegium and its many millions of readers to congratulate you on a great holiday for the entire Romanian people—23 August.

The Soviet people are aware that you were involved in the revolutionary movement from your youth and later involved in building a new society on Romanian soil. Which of your aspirations have been justified in the course of the country's 45-year development along the socialist path?

[Ceausescu] The victory won 45 years ago by the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation led to the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship in our country and the elimination of imperialist supremacy and opened the way to major socioeconomic transformations and then to socialist building in Romania. At the same time Romania joined all its forces with the Soviet Army and fought with the latter's formations to complete victory over Hitlerite Germany.

We assess highly the role of the Soviet Army in the struggle against fascist Germany, in its defeat, and in the victory in World War II, which was of exceptional importance not only for Europe but also for all mankind.

We honored and will always honor the memory of the heroes and all those people who fought during the war against Hitlerism, for freedom and independence.

In order to answer your question, I must say that 45 years ago Romania was an underdeveloped, agrarian-industrial country with strong vestiges of feudalism. In the comparatively short period that has elapsed Romania has passed through several phases: It has become an industrial-agrarian country, with a powerful industry organized on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology and a socialist agriculture, and is now at the stage of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. Let me point out that Romania's industrial output is now greater by a factor of 135 than 45 years ago and has increased more than 120-fold since the ninth party congress. Agricultural production has increased by a factor of 10 and, moreover, by a factor of 6 since the ninth congress. Science, education, and culture have received a mighty boost. All this has ensured the country's overall development and an increase in the people's living standards. National income has increased by a factor of more than 40 and by a factor of more than 33 since the ninth party congress.

Why am I stressing the importance of the 1965 ninth congress? Because for our country it heralded a new phase in the development of Romanian society, in the transition to creating socialism—in accordance with our country's realities—based on the application of objective laws and socialist principles to these realities.

Since you have asked me to what extent the successes we have achieved justify my ideals and ideas at the time when I joined the workers' movement, I must be frank and say that, bearing in mind the Romanian people's major achievements in socialist building and in increasing the people's material and spiritual living standards, these achievements all outweigh my notions at the time.

Of course, I joined the working movement with the firm conviction of the correctness of the party's policy and of socialism. I want to say that the Soviet Union's achievements at that time helped stimulate us in Romania to overthrow the old social system.

We have achieved a great deal! Socialist democracy has been extensively developed. We proceeded and are proceeding on the premise that we are building socialism with the people and for the people. That is why the entire party and the Romanian people assess our achievements highly and are filled with determination to do everything to ensure progress in building a comprehensively developed socialist society and the transition to communism—mankind's golden dream—in the future.

[Averchenko] Socialism has, indisputably, changed Romania's socioeconomic makeup. But it has also changed man himself. What do you think are the most characteristic traits of your republic's citizens today?

[Ceausescu] Having effected major socioeconomic transformations and ensured the powerful development of production forces, science, education, and culture, we have really imparted a new look to Romania. This has all fundamentally changed the people's life and their level of culture and civilization. We eliminated illiteracy long ago. All our young people are now given a 10-year education, and as of next year we are introducing compulsory 12-year education for all young people.

Socialist consciousness has developed in a mighty fashion. Having become the true master of national wealth and eliminated oppressors forever, and by constructing the future they desire, the people have been able to secure major successes. That is why the increase in socialist consciousness constituted and constitutes an especially important factor in the country's entire development. Our people are well aware that all these achievements were only possible owing to socialism, to the Communist Party's correct policy, and also to cooperation with socialist countries—and I would like to underline the important role played by our cooperation with the Soviet Union and also with other states, irrespective of their social system, within this framework.

[Averchenko] Is there any difference if we compare your generation and its revolutionary spirit with the current generation of young communists and their mood?

[Ceausescu] First, the conditions are quite different. In the early-30's Romania was under imperialist domination. Young people and revolutionary forces strove to defend the interests of the working class and the entire people against the emergent fascism, which, as is well known, won a victory in Hitler's Germany in 1933. Young people took an active part in the struggle against war. They were not intimidated by terror, jails, or camps, and many of them gave their lives in their firm belief in socialism and freedom for their people.

Of course, young people nowadays are living in different conditions! However, I must tell you that our youth organization manifests a revolutionary labor combat spirit and firm determination to steadily implement Communist Party policy—the policy of building socialism and advancing toward communism.

We assess highly the activity and revolutionary labor spirit of young people in all spheres and we are, of course, concerned to constantly increase young people's overall cultural, technical, and scientific level and equip them with a revolutionary outlook.

[Averchenko] To what extent has the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] taken account of its country's specific nature, national features, and conditions during this period? What is the essence of the RCP's leading role in society and what means does it have of strengthening its prestige among the millions of working people?

[Ceausescu] During the early years of socialist building RCP activity was seen to definitely underestimate our country's realities and tend to imitate and employ in a mechanical fashion the experience gained by other countries. That is why we particularly emphasize the significance of the ninth party congress, which tasked us with putting an end to this underestimation, eliminating dogmatism, cliches, and conservatism, notably the theory of a "single model" for socialist building, and applying the objective laws and principles of scientific socialism to the realities and conditions in Romania. We say that we restored the party and people's sense of confidence in their own efforts along with their sense of dignity and genuine independence in building socialism. However, we did this without contrasting Romania's policy with the policy of socialist building in other countries! We proceeded and are proceeding on the premise that socialism is built in different ways in various countries and various eras, and we believe that departure from this principle signifies not the creative application of scientific socialism but rather the violation of the objective laws and our ideals—which cannot fail to have an adverse impact in one way or another on society's development.

Since the foundation of our workers' party in 1893 and then since the RCP's formation in 1921 we have always stressed—and are still stressing now—the working-class nature of the party. We believe that the party must constantly remain the party of the working class, always abide by the principles of revolutionary struggle, and continually strengthen its ties with the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the entire people. While being the party of the working class, it must at the same time also be the party for the entire nation. Owing to its worker-revolutionary characteristics our party has won and enjoys supreme prestige among the people and currently numbers more than 3.8 million members, of whom approximately 55 percent, 18 percent, and 20 percent are workers, peasants, and intellectuals respectively.

[Averchenko] Are you talking about workers by birth or by "occupation"? [Ceausescu] I am referring to workers "by occupation." But if you take into consideration their roots, then the proportion of workers in the RCP is in excess of 70 percent! We are constantly pursuing the goal and we want the working class, who are directly involved in production, to comprise the overwhelming majority of our party's members! We believe that this will help to guarantee the preservation of the party's revolutionary spirit and also the working class's fulfillment of its role as the leading class in society.

I want to stress that we are fully determined to continue to strengthen the party and its leading political role in society and constantly strengthen its ties with the people, seeing this as a pledge of the country's further development along the path of socialism!

[Averchenko] Romanian-Soviet relations are based on a firm treaty foundation and have stood the test of time. How do you assess today the state of and prospects for our countries' cooperation?

[Ceausescu] Traditional ties have existed between our countries since long ago, since a very long time ago. In the years of socialist building they improved and developed on the basis of new principles. And although features have emerged, so to speak, of the violation of the principles of cooperation, we have nevertheless overcome them and have ensured the consolidation of cooperation, between our parties and between our people both. I want to reemphasize that the relations of cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU, and between our countries, just like, incidentally, relations with all the socialist states and with other communist and workers parties, have had and continue to have great significance for the development of socialism in both our countries.

In general we consider that the relations between our parties and countries can be assessed as good. And even if they were excellent, much would still have to be done to expand them in all spheres of activity. Incidentally, an exchange of opinions recently took place on the expansion of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in the upcoming period, and we are firmly convinced that paths will be found toward the development of this cooperation in forms that accord with the interests of socialist building in Romania and the Soviet Union and which will serve the common cause of socialism and peace.

[Averchenko] You have frequently mentioned the stress on your own efforts, while at the same time extensively developing international cooperation. In which areas, in your opinion, can Romania secure the best results, utilizing its existing rich potential and experience in the most diverse spheres?

[Ceausescu] We have always believed that we need to proceed on the basis of our own efforts and capabilities in socialist building and in the country's overall development, while at the same time extensively developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation with other states. In this connection we have always attached particular significance to developing cooperation with socialist countries and—within this framework—to developing relations with the Soviet Union and also with developing countries in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We have, however, always believed that the development of relations with other states must be founded on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs.

At one time we underestimated our own capabilities and thought that we could resolve some of our issues more rapidly by using credits. That is why we had a very large foreign debt, which increased as a result of an increase in interest rates, which topped 20 percent. Of course, we applied great efforts to pay off our foreign debts and we eliminated them at the end of the first quarter this year; and we have decided not to use credits any more!

[Averchenko] In their letters our readers ask how Romania and its leadership have been able to eliminate this foreign debt. They also ask the following question: What will the people gain from the fact that the debts have been eliminated?

[Ceausescu] I want to point out first of all that, in paying off our foreign debts, we have not slowed down the pace of our socioeconomic development. In the period from 1980 through this year we have implemented capital investments totaling approximately $200-220 billion. On this basis we have been able to effect major transformations in Romania and at the same time boost the people's standard of living. Let me cite a few examples. In the period since 1980 through this year we have increased salaries and pensions twice—the second wage increase for all categories of working people was completed 1 August. We have continued to develop industry—creating a large number of jobs—together with agriculture, science, and education. In this time we have commissioned the Danube-Black Sea Canal, constructed the Bucharest subway, rebuilt the center of the capital, implemented an extensive program for the construction of irrigation systems, and vigorously developed housing construction. We have at the same time canceled economic production cooperatives' debts amounting to approximately 115 billion lei, which is equivalent in dollars to approximately $12-13 billion. This year we have obtained the biggest harvest in Romania's history—more than 80 quintals of wheat per hectare throughout the country. We reckon overall that more than 40 million tonnes of grain will be harvested, and that is the level planned for the year 2000.

Today we have an active balance in relations with other countries of approximately $2.5 billion and we are filled with determination to take part in production sharing and in constructing economic facilities with other states within the capabilities of the Romanian economy.

[Averchenko] Where do you see the need for perestroyka in the mechanism for cooperation between CEMA countries?

[Ceausescu] Romania has always attached particular significance to cooperation within the CEMA framework. We believe that in general terms CEMA has played an important role in cooperation between and the development of socialist countries. Of course, certain mistakes have also been permitted. They must be subjected to criticism and eliminated, but this does not mean that we must deny the good elements.

CEMA has played a great role! Decisions were adopted recently regarding the improvement of its activity and long-term programs have been elaborated through the year 2000, including what we consider to be good programs for scientific and technical cooperation, and we are fully determined to help implement them. You may be surprised—or some of your readers may be surprised—but we consider that the current CEMA mechanism accords with current conditions and there is no need to modify it and attempt to change things about which we have no clear idea! Of course, new elements must constantly be introduced, Nothing is everlasting in any sphere. That is why we must constantly improve our forms of cooperation in accordance with new conditions, the development of society, science, and culture, and with the actual development of people's consciousness, while of course exploiting all the good elements. In particular, if the changes are not based on thorough preparations even the best intentions may damage the economy and the social system as a whole. This is not characteristic only of socialism but also of any society. Tasks need to be approached after thorough study and thorough preparations, in the light of practical work and accumulated experience.

In this respect we advocate the development and improvement of CEMA activity in close cooperation with and with consent from all countries to ensure that all our undertakings serve the socialist development of every country and socialism as a whole.

[Averchenko] You personally, Comrade General Secretary, have frequently advocated increasing the role of small and medium countries in world affairs. What effect, in your opinion, is the increasingly widespread idea of the new political thinking having on this? How can Romania contribute to the affirmation of the principles of a nonviolent and nuclear-free world?

[Ceausescu] In its international activity Romania has always advocated and continues to advocate solving complex and acute problems of the day in the interests of socioeconomic progress, disarmament, and peace.

We believe that disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, is a fundamental question now. We welcomed the agreements between the USSR and the United States in connection with strategic missiles. We also welcomed the treaty on abandoning intermediate-range and shorter-range weapons. The NATO countries have decided to modernize short-range missiles and tactical missiles, which signifies an increase in their destructive force by a factor of approximately 4, once again fully confirming that they are retaining the so-called doctrine of "nuclear deterrence," which in effect means the continuation of the arms race.

That is why Romania believes that international activity must center on the implementation of the corresponding agreements on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in accordance with the USSR's proposals. We must finally abandon nuclear tests and halt the militarization of space.

We firmly advocate the attainment of corresponding agreements in Vienna on a substantial reduction in conventional arms. The socialist countries have proposed beginning with a 25-percent reduction. We support this proposal, although we believe that we should embark on a greater reduction—of approximately 50 percent.

As for Romania, it has not only advocated arms reductions but has also reduced both its arms, the numerical strength of its troops, and military expenditure! According to now well-known data, Romania has the lowest per capita military expenditure in Europe! Military expenditure amounts to approximately 3 percent of national income and we are planning to reduce this level much lower than 3 percent in the future.

Of course, we must also manifest concern for defense systems, but this must be done rationally, since that is the only way we can ensure both our overall development and defense against any aggression.

In this spirit I always stress that acute problems, above all questions of disarmament, cannot be resolved by just a few countries alone. We are not underestimating the role played by larger countries, but we believe that questions of disarmament and peace concern all states!

There are, indisputably, many questions in international life! Many people are indeed talking about "new thinking." However, this presupposes a radical change of both the concept and method of action employed by states and politicians. When the need for "nuclear deterrence" and, consequently, for force in international life is reaffirmed, it is hard to tell what is the significance of the new thinking! We must abandon the policy of force, diktat, and interference in other states' affairs once and for all! We must also abandon the military doctrine of destroying civilization itself and move on to a new, realistic policy of equitable cooperation between all countries!

But what were we given by NATO and the meeting of the seven heads of state of the richest capitalist countries? Disregard of realities and of the needs of the Third World and developing countries, disregard of serious social problems in their own countries! They gave us fresh confirmation of the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence"—however, this time supplemented by another doctrine, namely the doctrine of destabilizing socialist countries on the pretext of "helping" them return to capitalism! But that has nothing to do with the new economic order and is a gross breach of the UN Charter, other international agreements, and the principles of peaceful coexistence! That is in effect a return to the gloomy times of the "cold war."

We must, undoubtedly, resolutely reject this orientation adopted by these states and do everything to pool the efforts of all realistic progressive forces within socialist states and developing countries, and of all people who really want disarmament, peace, and equitable cooperation between all the nations of the world! It is only in these circumstances that we will be able to assert that we are embarking on new thinking and new policy in international relations.

In this connection—and in order to supplement my answer to your question—Romania is prepared to actively cooperate with all socialist countries and with all countries and people who want disarmament and peace.

[Averchenko] The RCP is heading toward its 14th Congress. What issues will the Romanian communists be placing at the focus of attention at this top party forum?

[Ceausescu] The 14th RCP Congress will take place in November this year. Preparations for it began in May last year with the discussion by the whole party of the April Theses of the Central Committee Political Executive Committee, which contain a synthesis of the present stage of development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and its prospects.

At the June plenum this year we adopted documents for the 14th Congress—the Directive Program of Socioeconomic Development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and in the Long Term Through the Year 2000, and in Certain Areas Through 2010, and also the Theses on the Activity of the Party and State. They were published and are being discussed by the party and the entire people.

What do we have in mind? Proceeding from the results achieved so far—which we consider good and which demonstrate the correctness of socialism as a form of the organization of society and the correctness of our party's policy in translating these principles into reality—we plan to move on to devlopment in accordance with new principles. Bearing in mind that next year we shall complete the accomplishment of a great strategic task—the elevation of Romania to the level of a medium-developed country. We're setting the target of moving to a higher level—the stage of building a comprehensively developed socialist society. This presupposes that by the year 2000 we shall have achieved a growth of the national econmy of approximately 80 percent and in some spheres even doubled it, which will lead to a corresponding increase in national income and an improvement in the conditions of people's labor and life. We are setting ourselves the task of achieving this through building up the intensive development of all sectors of activity and improving the principles of self-management, economic self-management [samokhozyaystvovaniye], and self-financing. We plan to perfect the system of labor remuneration on the basis of socialist principles. We proceed firmly from the premise that no one can obtain income without labor, or live by exploiting the labor of others.

We have acted resolutely to prevent speculation and an increase in consumer goods prices in any form whatsoever! Over the past 5 years, although the plan provided for a certain growth—0.5-1.0 percent per annum—there has been no increase in prices. We believe that this is one of the pledges of our socialist state. We do not agree with the thesis of a so-called "free market," because this is freedom for speculation, which causes harm to the working people, to the people! Of course all that we produce, we produce for the working people, and we produce it in a certain sense for the market and not for the warehouses, but we cannot leave the sale of these goods to the will of chance! We are striving to provide the people with everything necessary for a worthy life in accordance with scientific requirements, but we will not permit and we rule out speculation in any form!

We shall continue to build up expenditure on social needs so that we shall ensure by the year 2000 a more just standard of living for all citizens of the country. We want to ensure conditions whereby there will be no "poor" nor any "rich" living at the expense of other people's labor. We want our people to provide themselves with a worthy and abundant life on the basis of the free labor of every citizen!

We believe that only in this way can one create the necessary conditions in order to proceed further along the path of implementing the communist principles of life and labor! This is why we show concern for bringing closer together the living conditions of the working people of the city and of the countryside. We believe that not only our cities but also our communes and villages must be developed.

[Averchenko] You are well known in the Soviet Union because you have been the head of the RCP for almost 25 years now. I believe I am not mistaken in saying that you are also a professional revolutionary. I want to ask—in this capacity what most concerns you?

[Ceausescu] I would indeed say that from the very outset, since the first years of my activity in the working movement and later in the Communist Party, I have acted as a professional revolutionary, and I believe that a good party worker must also be a professional revolutionary in the present circumstances.

What do I mean by this? In my opinion, this means bringing questions of socialist building to the fore. Of course, in the old conditions the struggle against oppression came to the fore. In the new conditions the center of concern is the struggle to build socialism and successfully implement socialist principles in all spheres. Only someone who devotes all his efforts and capabilities to implementing these tasks can be a communist and a revolutionary! Being a professional revolutionary also means striving to constantly strengthen the party and its leading role in society, which does not mean placing the party above society—the party must have close links with the entire people in order to always serve the people and the cause of socialism. This was and still is my constant concern today.

[Averchenko] Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu! Thank you very much for your interview with PRAVDA. It remains for us to close with something in the way of a small forecast. Will you agree to share with PRAVDA's readers your current thoughts and aspirations—how do you see Romania in the next, 21st, century?

[Ceausescu] We have a remarkable future! Everything that we have achieved hitherto gives us faith and the guarantee that we will implement our aspirations. What do we want? In short, to successfully finish implementing the program for building a comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, ensure the overall development of production forces, science, and culture, and boost the people's overall professional and cultural level.

How are the various aspects in communist society materializing—that is a question of practice! In essence, however, we believe that we must achieve a stage of development which will provide all members of society with worthy working and living conditions and and ensure the powerful development of worker-revolutionary democracy on the basis of the principles of the people's direct participation in governing society.

Only then will we be able to say that the plans hatched many years ago by the founders of scientific socialism have been implemented!

Those are our endeavors. As for Romania, we are fully convinced that it will be a powerfully developed country by the beginning of the third millennium with a high level of socialist civilization.

We are confidently looking to a socialist future throughout the world! We believe that socialism is the way for all people!

In conclusion I would like to send PRAVDA's readers and the people of the Soviet Union best wishes for success in their socioeconomic development, socialist building, and in progress toward communism!

West Europe

Vlasov Confers With Italian Regional Official

PM2408091789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 21 August A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, received B. Landi, president of the Lazio region government (Italy), who is visiting the USSR for the Lazio region festival in the RSFSR.

During the conversation it was noted that the festival's events, which are being held with great success in Moscow and a number of other RSFSR cities, express the strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Italian peoples.

Questions of Soviet-Italian bilateral relations were discussed, including multilevel regional cooperation between the RSFSR and Italy's regions. It was stressed that the upcoming visit to Italy by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, will be of great significance for the further consolidation of those relations. It was also noted that the perestroyka processes in the Soviet Union are creating a basis conducive to the development of multifaceted mutually beneficial ties between our countries.

The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Brutents Leaves for Finland 23 Aug

LD2308214389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1538 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—Karen Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, today left Moscow for Helsinki at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Finland to take part in the measures dedicated to the 90th anniversary of its foundation.

FRG-GDR Strains Over Would-Be Emigrants Viewed

PM2308103989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Grigoriyev dispatch: "Avoiding Reality Again?"]

[Excerpts] Bonn, Aug—Political circles on the Rhine are perfectly well aware of the potential for influencing people's minds through the modern mass media. Not for nothing is party-political balance so carefully observed here, primarily on radio and television. It is not hard to imagine the kind of scandal there would be if some television channel were to carry a program criticizing the policies of the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union and urging a mass withdrawal of support from these parties in favor of the "Republicans," for example.

Clearly, inflammatory programs of this kind are even more inappropriate in the sphere of interstate relations. But how else could you describe the program specially staged recently by West German television—which, as is well known, "covers" a substantial proportion of GDR territory—and containing abuse of that country's system? Incidentally, this is just one example of the campaign launched recently in the FRG against the socialist German state. The official reason given for this campaign is as follows. According to the local press, 130 GDR citizens have gone to the permanent FRG mission in Berlin and refused to leave the mission until they are given the guarantee that they can leave for the FRG. A similar situation has developed at the FRG mission in Budapest. [passage omitted]

Confrontational approaches to the GDR in West German policy and propaganda are nothing new. While

Europe is changing for the better, influential bodies and organizations remain geared to struggle with the GDR. The newspaper UNSERE ZEIT points out in this connection that people here still refuse to respect something that is respected by the whole world: GDR citizenship. Claim is laid to some kind of guardianship over all Germans, regardless of where they live.

Officials in Bonn assure us that they are not responsible for the development of this serious situation in relations between the FRG and the GDR. That they are prepared to continue to develop cooperation in a businesslike fashion. Perhaps someone has suddenly recognized that the propaganda campaign against the GDR is developing into an attempt to destabilize its life. After all, it is one thing to "dislike" something, but quite a different matter to try to ignore a reality in the structure of Europe such as the GDR. In this connection the sober view that it is time to drop the didactic tone in relation to the GDR has begun to appear in some organs of the press and in discussions on television.

Real life indicates other possibilities and prospects. For all the objective and subjective difficulties in relations between Berlin and Bonn, from time to time they manage to take first one, and then another step in the direction of normalization. In August, "Interflug" opened a regular passenger service between Leipzig and Dusseldorf, while "Lufthansa" has begun flights between Frankfurt-am-Main and Leipzig during the fair. New, additional measures to facilitate FRG citizens' visits to the GDR were introduced on 1 August. And the other day the two countries' governments exchanged notes establishing another accord for the mutual return of cultural and historical valuables.

There is no doubt that these actions are in people's real interests in both sovereign German states. They are in the spirit of the time, detente, and the building of a common European home.

Joint Enterprise Established With Austria 23 Aug

LD2308220789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1602 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Vienna, 23 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Novak reports:

The signing took place in Vienna today of an agreement on setting up the joint Soviet-Austrian enterprise "Vestnik". In accordance with the agreement between the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Austrian firm ABV [expansion unknown], a joint enterprise will be established in Moscow, which will publish VESTNIK MID SSSR in the English language and will distribute it in europe, the United States and Japan.

Subsequently the bureau of the joint enterprise in Austria will be engaged in the marketing of VESTNIK MID SSSR in foreign languages on the world market.

VESTNIK MID SSSR, which has been published in our country since 1987, is the official publication of the Soviet foreign policy department, which carries basic documents on various aspects of the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policy activities, the texts of talks and speeches by party and government leaders and a chronicle of their official visits.

The agreement on setting up the Soviet-Austrian joint enterprise was signed by Vitaliy Milyayev, editor-in-chief of VESTNIK MID SSSR, and Leopold Bausbeck, the owner of the ABV firm.

Latin America & Caribbean

Venezeula, Nicaragua Leaders View Panama, Contras

LD2308082389 Moscow TASS in English 0621 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Caracas August 23 TASS—Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez has met visiting Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramirez Mercado.

The course of implementing the agreements signed by the presidents of Central American countries in Honduras as well as ways to resolve the political crisis in Panama were analysed during the meeting.

Ramirez explained that the agreements pave the way for the full disbandment of contra forces.

Nicaragua faces the danger that the United States could hinder the demobilisation of the contras, seeking to use them, for a continuation of the aggression. Such a stand by Washington, he emphasised, would run counter to the Central American people's will for peace.

Over the question of Panama, the sides agreed that a way out of the crisis should be sought through negotiations and that any foreign interference was inadmissible.

The Nicaraguan vice-president expressed concern over U.S. actions, pointing out that the dispatch of troops to Panama by the Pentagon and the defiant show of force may lead to a conflict with unpredictable consequences.

The time has come to test Latin American unity in politics, for the implementation of the Panama Canal treaties, signed in the presence of the presidents of all Latin American countries, is at stake, he said.

This is now the main thing, and not the artificially accentuated issue concerning General Noriega, Ramirez added.

Nicaragua Invites International Report on Prisons

LD2408075489 Moscow TASS in English 0743 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Managua August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

The Nicaraguan Government has requested the International Red Cross Committee to draw up an official report on conditions in correctional labour institutions of the repubic. The Nicaraguan authorities thereby wish to refute rumours discrediting the Sandinist government, now circulated by the local reaction on CIA prompting. A special commission of the International Red Cross Committee will start working on the report shortly.

The Nicaraguan minister for internal affairs Tomas Borge told a press-conference here that the government was also prepared to allow such prestigeous human rights organisations as "America's Watch", "International Amnesty" and the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights to preapre their own reports on the convicted in Nicaragua. We have nothing to hide, the minister said.

Borge said that there were now 7,003 persons serving sentences in the country. 5,285 of them are criminals. The others are captured Contras, particularly dangerous former members of the Somoza guard and former servicemen of the Sandinist People's Army and Ministry for Internal Affairs, who had violated military regulations. The International Red Cross Committee, the minister stressed, is in a position to prove that these figures are correct.

The right-wing Nicaraguan opposition claims that the number of so-called political prisoners tops ten thousand in the country. However, representatives of the International Red Cross officially stated last year that there were 1,832 former Somoza guardsmen and 1,532 captured Contras in the country's prisons, who could be qualified as political prisoners. This year the Sandinist government, guided by its desire for national reconciliation, has amnestied practically all former members of the tyranic regime's repressive apparatus. Only 39 men are still serving prison terms, which they received for grave crimes committed against the Nicaraguan people during Somoza's rule.

The local reaction is endeavouring to present the cases as though the Sandinist government is violating its own commitment to release political prisoners and therefore "does not deserve international trust". This provocative campaign pursues far-going goals, particularly to prevent an international recognition of general elections in the country, scheduled for next February, to isolate the Sandinist National Liberation Front if its candidates win them.

Peruvian Ambassador Visits Foreign Ministry

PM2208114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 15 August V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received R.E. Loayza Saavedra, Peruvian ambassador to the USSR. During the conversations which took place some questions of Soviet-Peruvian relations were discussed.

Soviet-Cuban Joint Research of Hurricanes Noted

LD2408080489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0100 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] A team of 14 Soviet and 8 Cuban meteorologists have begun the final stage of preparations for joint research on board the "Tsiklon" flying laboratory, comprising test flights to check the plane's apparatus. The laboratory's main tasks will be to study hurricanes by flying into their center, and to carry out the "sowing" of clouds to induce rain.

Invitation to Chile Communist Youth Congress Noted

PY2208151989 Moscow in Spanish to Chile
2000 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Youth, look to the future, unite and struggle for Chile and democracy until victory! With this slogan, the boys and girls with the red shirts [amaranto] are beginning to passionately discuss the problems of the Chilean youth movement, united with the people and all the young people who are interested in the struggle for a better world, democracy, and a free Chile. They are willing to continue to struggle for their people until victory.

Under the title "The Communist Youth as a Subjective Factor," the invitation to the Eighth Congress of Communist Youth says: We are the youth of the Chilean Communist Party, the party of revolution. We think of ourselves as a factor in attaining the objectives of the revolution. To speak of the J [the Communist Youth] means to address the problem of leading millions of youths from a revolutionary perspective. The invitation adds: The grass-roots militants and the collective leadership must be instrumental in enlisting forces for the revolutionary movement. Knowing, thinking, and acting are steps toward the single objective of winning minds and souls for a process of change. The discussions and resolutions of youth should therefore be direct and defined.

The invitation to the Eighth Congress of Communist Youth goes on to say that this is a process that must be tackled by the Central Committee and the Executive Committee, all the way down to the grass roots, with a profound sense of criticism and self-criticism. In fact we try to have this idea in all our propositions. In this invitation, the J asks how and where we need to strengthen ourselves in carrying our policy to the youth sector. The J then answers: We can say generally that we need to have a J that will be able to spark the struggle of the young masses; that will be an active force in the mobilization of these masses to press their demands; that will be attentive to each situation and responsive to its needs; that will be aware of new ideas in the world of youth; that will be tireless in the continuous and building struggle for winning democracy and defending and deepening it.

The invitation stresses that we need a J that will be able to promote the broadest unity, without exception, for all youth. We need a J that can carry out all forms of struggle, deciding which form is best at any given moment in the concrete historical situation. These are—concludes this chapter of the invitation, titled "The Communist Youth as a Subjective Factor"—general truths that the J must shape into practical forms in the discussions during its congress and enrich and embody in youth.

We will continue to air the text of the invitation to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Youth of Chile in an upcoming program.

Political & Social

Demonstrations Mark Anniversary of 1939 Pact

Vilnius Rally Held

LD2308135689 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 23 Aug 89

[Report by Vilnius Radio reporter Audrius Matonis on a rally in Kalnu park in Vilnius on 22 August organized by the Sajudis movement]

[Excerpts] [Matonis] Today a rally organized by the Sajudis reform movement took place in Kalnu Park in Vilnius. The rally was devoted to commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

This was an exceptionally moderate and hopeful event. About 70,000 people carrying Lithuanian tricolor flags could hardly find room among the green hills of the park. After the song "Beloved Lithuania" by J. Maironis was sung, Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council, addressed those who had gathered in the park.

[Begin Landsbergis recording] The selling out of our beautiful land started 50 years ago. In a big city far away from here there is now considerable confusion: Should Comrade Molotov and Mr von Ribbentrop be recognized as their colleagues or not? This issue is not only a historical one and nor is it only a legal one. This issue is both a moral issue and an issue about the elimination of Stalinism. Is Stalinism going to continue to exist in the present shape of the state structure or will attempts be made to destroy the results of Stalinisn, to discuss them and to save the people from them?

Do we have rights, do we have vital interests? Perhaps it depends on how one interprets all this.

For instance, we have been promised more rights. Looking at it from the practical point of view, this is not bad. But what does this mean when it is promised more rights will be granted to the republics and maybe the Baltic republics will be given even a few more rights than the other republics? It looks as if these promises are being given by some gods in whose hands is the power of creation of the world—deciding whether to give or not to give. Or perhaps they are like masters, the feudal masters, deciding if they should release us from Serfdom or not, whether we should be released completely or if some ties should be retained.

(?Here it is), this kind of thinking which is so difficult to replace by a new way of thinking. They announced they would replace the old thinking, but when this old thinking is 1,000 years old, then its roots go very deep indeed.

And we are different. Nobody has to grant us any rights. Both people and nations have the rights. Rights can only be trampled on; they can be taken away but they will always exist as such, and we only have to get them back and use them once again. These rights have been granted to man and the nation by nature itself, by the very existence of man in this world. Or to quote (Titunen) believers say God gives the rights. This is great philosopher of Christianity was not wrong in maintaining that nations are god's thoughts, all different and interesting thoughts of God. And who dares to raise his hand against God's thought? No doubt this can be done only by Satan.

Let us demonstrate our resolution to live differently. A year has passed. Now we say more: We want to live as people do. Therefore, let us resolve treat each other as people, regardless of nationality or religion or no religion at all. Let us be human beings, let us live like people, and let the name of our common goal be "Freedom." [end recording]

[Matonis] The speech by Professor Vytautas Landsbergis was followed by sincere applause. Kazys Saja, a writer, was also greeted in a similar way.

[Begin Saja recording] Dear people of Lithuania, today many people say that the awakening of Lithuania is similar to the miraculous recovery of Lazarus. Since last summer Lithuania has been travelling toward freedom like a fast train. So I am not surprised that some may have become dizzy.

Sajudis of Lithuania has gained international recognition. Last year the authorities looked askance at the leaders of Sajudis, like a dog at a beetle. This year these leaders have become people's deputies and are making life difficult for the spineless government.

The ruling party of Lithuania is no longer the same. I do not speak of those venal creatures who try to pin the neonationalist star on our chests as if it was a bull's-eye or an order for new repressions. How eagerly all these Burdenkos and Ivanovs are awaiting the neo-Stalinist hangmen! And for a new bloody June! It may seem that their attempts are in vain, senseless. It seems that it is high time for Gorbachev's party to say: Stop it, you beasts! You will not suck the blood of Lithuania any more!

However, this is not so. From time to time the rulers of Moscow give them a nice pat, a pat on the shoulder, and console them through the central press. Therefore, we shall have to proceed very cautiously, without losing our heads and wisdom. Unfortunately, quite often we are posessed by a rather naive King Lear syndrome—we seem to be competing to see loves our motherland more ardently and who can curse her enemies more vehemently. The Soviet tragi-comedy and long years of slavery have taught us to play the part of active citizens in this way—namely, to demonstrate genuine or pretended devotion.

They say man does not live by bread alone. Sacred words these may be; however, when one's stomach is rumbling, then one does not care for sacred things all that much.

"Give us this day our daily bread" a man cries, looking at the cross, the tricolor, or listening to nice speeches on television made by Comrade Gorbachev, Comrade Brazauskas, or highly esteemed Landsbergis. Thank God, we have our daily bread so far, but otherwise we are beggars rich with hope. And to fill up this empty sack we shall need so much. It is frightening to say how much of everything we shall need: wisdom, work, unity, culture, tolerance, bravery. We will console each other by saying that nobody is going to deport us to Siberia again, to starve us to death, and they will not shoot us dead again. The bloody tribute for our freedom we have paid in full measure, and we shall never forget it. [end recording]

[Matonis] Mecys Laurinkus, member of the Sajudis Seimas Council, took the floor and said that political life in Lithuania had reached the point when not only a politician making speeches in public but also those who are listening to him must make be resolute and declare publicly which position they support and which they do not support. According to him, although Sajudis is not a party, it does not mean that one can do anything under the cover of it. Sajudis knows its immediate objective: to create the preconditions for an independent state of Lithuania. Sajudis also knows its long-term objective, which is very difficult to achieve: to set up modern democratic structures without which independence could be turned into a new slavery. Sajudis integrates all forces which support these aspirations. It does not need hysterical people who are eager to satisfy their one-day-long arrogant ambitions.

According to Mecys Laurinkus, those who had lost moral authority are still physically strong and are led by the right of whoever is the strongest. Therefore, nobody is going to force Sajudis to take a step which would push Lithuania into danger.

He had no doubts that there will be a multiparty system in Lithuania. However, he expressed concern that some parties which are presently coming into being formulate their programs while sniping at the internal business of other parties and movements, instead of setting up principles which would answer the needs of the future state of Lithuania. Therefore, he expressed his deep concern over the possible split among democratic forces, now when their unity is most needed.

Representatives from cultural associations of Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, and Jews also spoke at the rally. They declared common objectives with the Lithuanian nation, which were to set up an independent, democratic state of Lithuania where groups of various nationalities could develop their culture.

Virgilijus Cepaitis, a responsible secretary of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis, read a letter by U.S. Senator Donald Regan [as heard] to the Lithuanian people. A sincere admiration of the aspirations of the Lithuanian nation to restore democracy, justice, and self-goverment in their motherland was expressed in the letter. He wrote that the correct, well-thought-out, and really democratic path along which we were proceeding in order to achieve it is a signpost to everybody who is fighting for democratic and human rights. [passage omitted]

Senator Donald Regan promised to do everything to ensure that the United States will take a firm position in defending the national rights of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and their idea of independence.

When the darkness fell, everybody lit candles and held them. Father Aleksandras Milasius invited everybody to say "The Lord's Prayer" for our nation and for our sacred aspirations.

The meeting lasted 2 and one half hours, and concluded with the signing of the national anthem. [passage omitted]

Human Chain Formed

LD2308205189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This crowded meeting in Vilnius is evidence of the increased attention by the public to an event which happened half a century ago. Functions devoted to discussion of the influence of the treaty on the fate of the Lithuanian people are taking place as part of the heightened political activity. At this moment, thousands of Lithuanians are on the main road linking the capitals of the three Baltic republics. From Vilnius to Bauska, which is already in Latvia, they have formed a living chain, as it were, which, according to the event's organizers, the leaders of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, denotes the unity of their aspirations. Voices calling for Lithuania's secession from the USSR are being heard, but, on the other hand, it is being said that such an idea is absurd. Today one can also hear this appeal: Let us meet together, let us tell the truth, look each other in the eye and not turn away from each other. The truth, even the most difficult, is the best way of eliminating old misunderstandings and preventing new ones.

Baltic 'Human Chain' Described

LD2308212289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Our correspondent (Ninel Meshkun) reports from Riga:

[Meshkun] A living human chain, expressing the attitude of the people toward the events of 23 August 1939, stretched from the small settlement of Koni, which is on the border with Estonia, across all of Latvia. By a decision of the Baltic Council, to which representatives of the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts and the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka [Sajudis] belong, at precisely 1900 [1500 GMT] 200,000 people gathered at their appointed places and joined their hands in a single unbroken chain, standing still for 15 minutes.

Last year, Mikhail Gorbachev, one of the top leaders of our perestroyka, said that one must approach history in an honest way. That demands courage. One must not close one's eyes to the true reaons for one event or another. To put it another way, that demands the ability to be able to look truth in the eye, be it bitter or sweet, whether it flatters national pride or plunges it into shame.

We must find out what will be the legal and political evaluation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact given by the commission that was set up by a decision of the Congress of People's Deputies and that is continuing its work.

Further on Baltic Demonstrations

LD2308204589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Baltic road. Today at 1900 local time, this idea received its symbolical embodiment. [video shows map marking the route of the human chain] It is a live chain of people, which started at the the big Hermann tower in the center of Tallinn; after stretching along the territories of the Baltic republics it ended at Gediminas Square in Vilnius. [video shows gathering of large crowd carrying Estonian flags]

In the republic they have adopted differing approach to this action, but one thing is clear. It is politically irresponsible and hopeless to regard it as a demonstration of separatist moods. After all, the majority has perceived the Baltic road as a demonstration of faith in historical justice, of the faith that the fates of peoples will never again be solved without the participation of these nations, of the faith in the progress of all humanity, the guarantor of which has been and will remain perestroyka—the issue common to all peoples. [video shows people holding hands in a long human chain stretching from a park through a city; the people in the chain are silent]

We too have changed in 50 years; the world has also changed. To think that the rebirth of the values and statuses of those times is possible—whether it be the map of the world or the system of views—is political naivity and even a serious and dangerous obstacle on the path of perestroyka. [video continues showing the human chain, some people shown carrying small Estonian flags]

On the other hand, the suspicions that a considerable part of society would like to achieve this kind of restoration are just as naive and just as dangerous, because they intensify the threat of alienation. Mutual trust—this is the very road on which any demonstration of national self-awarness will be evaluated as a movement of the soul, which is worthy of understanding, and not as a political stunt. Mutual trust and truth—and truth—only these are capable of eliminating former errors and averting new ones. This is the essence of the Baltic road.

TASS Notes Baltic Protests

LD2308192189 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT 23 Aug 89

["Baltic Republics: Action of Remembrance and Protest"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tallinn August 23 (ETA-TASS)—Some 300,000 people formed a human chain today stretching from the capital of Estonia to the border with Latvia. The "Baltic Way" action was held in protest against the Soviet-German treaty, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, signed 50 years ago.

A rally was also held, which was addressed by president of the presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Arnold Ruutel. He stressed that "an honest and complete opening of the historical truth" was necessary "to get rid of the heavy burden of mistrust" between peoples.

Riga August 23 (LATINFORM-TASS)—The "Baltic Way" action, held on Latvian territory, drew activists from a variety of informal mass organizations of the republic. Some of its participants, giving an assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German treaty, favour "restoring Latvia's sovereignty in the framework of 1940," others favour its independence within the federation of Soviet republics.

Vilnius August 23 (ELTA-TASS)—Nearly 500,000 people, a sixth of the republic's population, formed a human chain as part of the "Baltic Way" action, which stretched over 250 kilometres in Lithuania.

Moscow August 23 TASS—One cannot help sympathizing with the wish to analyse and give legal and political evaluation of the dramatic events on the eve of the war and their consequences, including for Baltic republics, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the start of the Second World War, Vladlen Vereshchetin, deputy director of the State and Law Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, told TASS. He stressed that given the prewar international situation and international law the legality of the non-aggression treaty, dated August 23, 1939, cannot be called to question. There is no doubt either that the secret protocol to this treaty on dividing the spheres of interest by the two states, which inevitably affected the interests of other states, was unlawful from the point of view of international law.

The Soviet scholar pointed out at the same time that linking the inclusion of Baltic republics into the Soviet Union with the validity of the 1939 Soviet-German treaties and secret protocols to them is juridically inconsistent. The joining by Lithuania and other Baltic republics was based on other legal acts passed by supreme bodies of authority of Baltic states and the USSR and at present on Soviet Constitution, he said.

Intermovement, People's Front Statements

LD2308190489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Today marks 50 years since the signing of the nonaggression treaty between Germany and the USSR. Our correspondent, Heimar Lenk, our correspondent, reports from Tallinn:

[Lenk] As is well known, this treaty, especially its secret additional protocol, has direct bearing on the history of the Baltic republics. Thus, this anniversary is being widely marked today in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Meetings and encounters with historians are taking place in the towns and villages of the three republics. As representatives from more than 20 radio and television companies of Western countries and many newspaper correspondents have arrived in Tallinn, for example, to cover today's events, a number of news conferences were held here. Various public movements expressed their points of view in relation to the 1939 treaty. At a meeting between journalists and representatives of Intermovement [Interdvizheniye], which unites the Russian-speaking population of Estonia, a declaration was made:

[Begin unidentified Intermovement representative recording] Intermovement considers the talks with the aggressor on the sphere of influence including third countries immoral and welcomes the declaration on the invalidation, from 22 June 1941, of the treaty between Germany and the USSR. [end recording]

[Lenk] Essentially the same opinions on the subject of the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty were also expressed at the press conference of the Popular Front of Estonia [Narodnyy Front Estonii]:

[Begin unidentified Popular Front representative recording] This was a transaction between two regimes which considered that they could discuss and resolve the issue of spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. [end recording]

[Lenk] At this moment, while our report is on the air, tens of thousands of inhabitants of Estonia are gathering on the streets and motorways of the republic to take part in the live chain between the capitals of the three Baltic republics. The aim of the human chain is to express the solidarity of the peoples of the Baltics and their attitude to the events of 1939. As noted at the meeting, which took place 1 hour ago in Vyzhgorod, a peaceful demonstration is taking place in Estonia in defense of peoples' rights to determine their own fates and futures. I would like also to add that no violations of public order have been observed today in Estonia.

People's Front Head Addresses Chain

LD2408003489 Riga in Latvian to Europe 1930 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program]

[Text] At 1900, when people joined hands and formed the Baltic Road, Latvian radio carried a speech by Dainis Ivans, chairman of the People's Front of Latvia, directed at everyone participating in the action jointly organized by the three baltic republics. This speech by Dainis Ivans was heard by those who stood at the edge of a forest, next to fields full of the scents of late summer, in Latvia's small towns, and in the streets of Riga.

[Begin Ivans recording] Fifty years ago, oppressors decided that we do not and shall not exist. Fifty years have passed, but we nevertheless exist. And at present our joined hands bear witness that the spirit and determination of the Baltic people to win a life worthy of free men and peoples in a restored Baltic region are indestructible.

Any injustice and oppression must end. The spirit of freedom is stronger than any slavery. Sooner or later the truth shines light upon any lies.

The Baltic land has never seen the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania so close to one another, having joined hands as they have today. Very likely the common history in the dusky prison of the peoples will have taught us what unfeigned truth, what free fraternity of peoples and mutual assistance are worth.

For the first time during our life together under the sky of the Baltic region, we have properly taken up positions on a united baltic road for freedom and independence. We have paved this road at the first baltic Assembly in Tallinn and at the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow.

We have become aware that each of us shall reach our goal more easily and safely, going along this common road.

Being on the Baltic Road, it is especially important to recognize that oppression and obscurantism which have ruled here for so long are not to be overcome by methods of oppression and obscurantism. Therefore, our road is one of peace, a democratic road, the only one which can lead us to the freedom of the people and of each citizen, to a law-governed state of Latvia.

On it we shall be as invincible as the strength of our unity, wisdom, trust in the ideas of freedom, and wish to work for their fulfillment will be. On it is possible for us to go forward, to crawl backwards, or to stand on the spot. Yes, one can also throw oneself about from one ditch to the other.

Let us, however, not give in to those who are crawling back, who are pulling us to the past of old dogmas and coercion. Let us not allow ourselves to be split by those who rush across the road. Let us endeavor to put into motion those who, being confused or afraid, are stamping their feet on the spot. Let us join hands, and let us include everyone who wants to participate and who is capable in parliamentary, legal, cultural, and economic construction of the new Latvia.

Let us prove to the world and to ourselves that we are stronger than that power of injustice which tried to delete us from the history of the world.

Esteemed molders of the chain of life of the Baltic region, members and supporters of the People's Front of Latvia: Despite the sad fact whose anniversary we are marking today, despite the ribbons of mourning on our flags, this, nevertheless, is a bright and joyful moment. We have, after all, again confirmed our skill to be together and to think the same bright thoughts about the future of our fatherland.

If also today, at times, we are gnawed by contradictions, intolerance, and quarrelsomeness toward one another, let us remember that those are only trivialities which are not able to halt our present course, and which are natural and transitory.

Let us hold yet more tightly one another's hands, and let us look into one another's eyes. Above everything, after all, stands what we can even now sense physically, the common future of the people of Latvia, our common future. [end recording]

'Up to 700,000' Participating

AU2308125789 Paris AFP in English 1109 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Tallinn, Soviet Union, August 23 (AFP)—Nationalist forces in the Baltic states were to stage a mass demonstration here Wednesday evening against rule by Moscow, amid signs of a deepening split along ethnic lines.

The demonstration, expected to gather up to 700,000 people, was called to mark the 50th anniversary of the Soviet-German pact, the first step towards annexation by Moscow of the Baltic states one year later in 1940.

Protestors planned Wednesday night to form a human chain stretching 560 kilometers (350 miles) from the Estonian capital of Tallinn to Vilnius by way of Latvia's capital, Riga.

A nationalist source said earlier plans to go all the way to the Polish border—at the request of Polish political movements—was dropped to avoid problems.

Interrinne, the association representing the 40 per cent Russian-speaking minority in Estonia, called a press conference Wednesday morning in Tallinn, the capital, to slam a new electoral law which, it said, will make them "second class citizens."

The law, due to come into effect August 25, imposes a residency requirement on voters and candidates in local elections. It was "as discriminatory as any in South Africa," said Yevgeniy Kogan, an Estonian deputy to the federal parliament.

Moscow has told the Estonian legislature to redraft the "unconstitutional" law by October 1st.

The Interrinne representatives said the Soviet pact was "immoral," but that it had lapsed when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941.

Meanwhile, the generally-reserved Estonians vented their anger and frustration during the screening of a film on the Soviet-German pact in Tallinn Tuesday evening.

Prior to the showing, the audience of some 3,000 repeatedly applauded the condemnation by a local historian of the annexation of the state and his call for renewed independence.

The local parliament should declare the Soviet occupation "illegal" and Estonians should refuse all compromises with the Russians who want to retain power, said Trivimi Velliste.

"If the Soviet Union had wanted to prevent Estonian independence, it should have acted sooner. Now, it is rather late," he said. Members of the Communist Party should now choose whether they want to work for Estonia or for the Soviet Union, he also said.

And he went on to call for an international conference in Sweden. Moscow could make known to the conference the strategic interest it needs to preserve here when the Baltic states revert to independence, he added.

During the showing of the film, made up of documentary archives, the audience later burst into applause at the sight of a Soviet plane shot down by anti-aircraft gunfire during the 1939-40 Soviet-Finnish war.

Sajudis Issues Statement

LD2308230189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Statement adopted by the Sajudis Seimas Council following a 23 August session in Vilnius—read by announcer]

[Text] To world nations, governments, and all people of goodwill, the statement of the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis. This year marks the 50th anniversary of signing the Soviet-German treaties and secret protocols on the delineation of spheres of interest in Europe which decided the beginning of World War II. Though many countries do not recognize the occupation and annexation of Lithuania and other Baltic states, the consequences of the deal have not yet been eliminated and still determine (?the life) in Lithuania and other countries. The Soviet-inspired seizure of Lithuania and other countries by military and political force has resulted in transformations that erased Lithuania, a member of the League of Nations, from the world political map, and brought to the verge of catastrophe. [sentence as heard]. Yet Lithuania has never reconciled with its grim situation and has always cherished aspirations to restore its independent statehood. Having met on 23 August in Vilnius, the Seimas Council of the Lithuania reform movement Sajudis declares the following:

First, the secret deals between the Soviet Union and Germany dated 23 August 1939, 28 September 1939, and 10 January 1941 and documents testifying them did exist. This has been proved by the analysis of political development (?and) historical sources.

Second, the ultimatum of the Soviet Government on 14 June 1940 and the stationing in the Lithuanian republic of the unlimited military contingent was an aggressive act against the sovereign state and created (?prerequisites) to replace the Lithuanian Government and run elections to the so-called Lithuanian People's Sejm, which in the conditions of political dictat and terror adopted a declaration on Lithuania's entry into the Soviet Union. The 1940 elections to the People's Sejm were illegal: all Sejm decision on the introduction of Stalinist Soviet power to Lithuania and (?the) appeal to be admitted into the Soviet Union has never had and has no judicial power.

Three, judicial assessment of the treaties entrusted to a commission of the USSR people's deputies has not yet been announced while political assessment has been mentioned merely as a field of future activity. Neither the Soviet Union nor both Germanies have so far denounced and taken concrete measure to eliminate the consequence of the deal and the aggression. The Seimas Council believes that the free nations and states will not recognize the criminal outcomes of the Soviet and German deal (?to) Lithuania's sovereignty and calls on the Lithuanian people to restore by peaceful means the independent democratic Lithuanian republic not subordinated to the Soviet adminstrative system and to its jurisdiction. Lithuania's ties with the Soviet Union are based on the basic provisions of (?the) peace treaty concluded on 12 July 1920.

Four, the present status of Lithuania in the Soviet Union and in the world community poses a serious international problem. The time is near when the Soviet Government will have to acknowledge the occupationist status of Lithuania and the necessity to eliminate it. At present the presence of the occupationist army in Lithuania restricts the chance to freely determine its social and political future. Over 1.4 million Lithuanian citizens have come against the presence of this army. [sentence as heard]

Academician Discusses 1939 German-Soviet Pact

LD2308194189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1649 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 Aug (TASS)—The republican newspapers of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] have published "The Conclusion of the Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR To Study the German-Soviet Treaties of 1939 and their Consequences." It says that the German-Soviet treaties of 1939-1941, their secret protocols and the implementation of them predetermined the loss of sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian Republic.

The commission concludes that "The Declaration of Lithuania's Entry Into the USSR" by the People's Seimas [elected council of the Lithuanian Popular Front] of Lithuania of 21 July 1940 and the "USSR Law on Accepting the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the USSR" of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 3 August 1940 "are illegal."

At the request of a TASS correspondent, Vladlen Vereshchetin, doctor of law and deputy director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, comments:

As a lawyer and specialist on international law, the conclusion of the commission of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet evokes contradictory feelings in me. One cannot fail to sympathize with the effort, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II, to analyze and evaluate from a law-based and political viewpoint the dramatic events on the eve of the war and their consequences, including the effect on the Baltic states. However, when you read the text of the conclusion, you see that the entire analysis only serves as a backdrop for the substantiation a priori of the task set—that of finding a legal argument for reexamining the political and law-based realities of the present day. The authors of the conclusions do not conceal this themselves either, for they conclude it with an appeal to "Europe and the whole world community" to take part in the elimination of the consequences of the German-Soviet agreements and pronounce as unlawful the acts on the adoption of the Lithuanian SSR as part of the USSR. Essentially it is a question of an appeal for a reexamination of the territorial land political structure in Europe, of the European borders, the stability of which was confirmed by the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, by many other international acts, and, what is most important, was paid for with the blood of tens of millions of people.

Naturally, a juridical analysis of the 1939 Soviet-German treaties should be carried out in close coordination with a historical and political appraisal of the events on the eve of World War II. Recently quite a few publications have appeared by both Soviet and foreign politicians and historians revealing all the complexity of the prewar situation and the ambiguous nature of the outcome of the nonaggression treaty for the further development of world events and even for the outcome of World War II.

From the point of view of the prewar international situation and international law, the lawfulness of concluding the nonaggression treaty of 23 August 1939 is indisputable. Indeed, a number of West European countries also concluded similar treaties with Germany. Another point is beyond doubt: The secret protocol to the treaty concerning the demarcation of the spheres of interests of the two states and inevitably affecting the interests of other states was unlawful and, from the point of view of international law, juridically worthless from the very beginning. It ran counter both to the generally accepted principles of international law and the USSR's obligations under the treaties with the Baltic states and the USSR's constitutional procedure—not to mention the fact that it contravened in the crudest way the

Leninist principles of foreign policy for a socialist state. The same has to be said of the second protocol to the USSR's treaty "On Friendship and the Border" concluded with fascist Germany on 28 September 1939. One should bear in mind at the same time that under international law both the 1939 treaties lost their legal force from the moment of fascist Germany's attack on the USSR, and so confirmation today that they were invalid is only of moral and political significance and no longer of legal import.

On the other hand, it is legally untenable to link the inclusion of the Baltic republics in the composition of the USSR directly with the validity or the invalidity of these treaties and accompanying secret protocols. The entry of Lithuania and other Baltic republics in the composition of the USSR was based, as is well known, on other legal acts adopted by the supreme bodies of power of the Baltic states and the USSR and is at present based on the USSR Constitution. Of course, and I repeat this, the formal and juridical analysis should be supplemented by an objective historical and social and political examination of this issue, which chronologically trancsends the span of only few prewar months.

By this I am not trying in any way to justify the acts of lawlessness and arbitrariness which were carried out on the territory of Lithuania and other Baltic republics both in that historical period and later. Now, however, when our country is shedding the painful legacy of the past, when conditions for truly equal relations between all the republics, all the nations and peoples of the USSR are taking shape, and, at the same time, when we are coming across manifestations of nationalistic feelings in many regions of the country, it seems to me that official commissions which are being set up by such prestigious bodies of power should show maximum objectivity and circumspection, especially in what regards their practical conclusions and proposals.

Democratic Union Stages Protest in Moscow

LD2308191889 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—The so-called Democratic Union staged unauthorised meeting in downtown Moscow tonight.

Democratic Union rallies have never been quiet, but this one has beaten them all. After waiting for the end of a show in the nearby Rossiya Cinema, the "leaders" of the organisation staged a free-for- all near the building of the weekly MOSCOW NEWS, complete with climbing telephone booths and lamp posts.

Traffic was practically paralysed.

According to preliminary information, a total of 75 people—most active participants and instigators—were detained for breaching the peace, resistance to police and petty hooliganism.

The Moscow police (militia) were prompt to act. Any outbursts were immediately curbed—correctly and without breaching law.

Militia Breaks Up Protest

LD2308212789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Traffic in the center of Moscow at the intersection of Gorkiy Street and the inner ring road was practically paralyzed this evening. Hundreds of people were unable to get into the subway. Cordons of militia and metal fences partitioned off subways.

It was an operation to render a dangerous band harmless. The so-called Democratic Union was holding an unauthorized meeting. The law and order bodies were forced to take measures which, as it turned out, were necessary.

Meetings of the Democratic Union have never been peaceful. This one surpassed many. Waiting until the performance at the Rossiya movie theater finished, this organization's leaders arranged a real free-for-all near the moskovskiye novosti building; they climbed onto telephone boxes and lampposts, literally pushing the pedestrians out onto the road. Thanks to the militia no one was injured. There were abusive shouts; it was completely impossible to understand who was calling for what.

This was not required by the Democratic Union, of course. They created for themselves an audience, a crowd of 2,000, and the crowd threatened to get out of control. An ambulance took away Teterin, captain of the militia with severe head injuries. He was hit by something hard from the crowd. According to preliminary data, among the most active instigators 75 people were arrested for infringing public order, for not obeying the workers of the militia, and for minor hooliganism. Among them were Novodvorskaya, Dbryanskaya.

One must give credit to the militia of the capital, which acted promptly. Any outburst was immediately and correctly curbed, without breaching the law.

We tried not to use force until the last moment, Militia Major General Pastayuk, chief of the administration of public order protection of the city administration of internal affairs of the Moscow city executive committee, reported and only resorted to it in extreme cases when arresting the most active participants. We will not allow or tolerate disorder in the city.

Lithuanian Sajudis' 'Duplicity' Discussed

PM2308133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA Ideological Department article: "Nothing but Facts"]

[Text]***PRAVDA's regular subscribers remember well material covering the activity of "Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka. Evidently, they also remember***

well the public statements by its leaders expressing unconditional support for the concept of perestroyka launched by the party and the numerous declarations about the impermissibility of any split within Soviet society and the vital necessity to unite and consolidate all its creative and healthy forces in order to overcome stagnation.

Let us be frank: Very often these declarations were totally incompatible with a number of extremely biased statements in the "independent" "Sajudis" press. This movement's propagandists and ideologists firmly adopted essentially insulting words addressed to the non-Lithuanian part of the population—"occupiers," "migrants," and so on. The union state was spoken of as an "empire."

Fact No 1. On 2 February 1989 the newspaper SOGLASIYE, press organ of the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka ("Sajudis"), published right across its front page a map of the USSR, showing it in separate parts held together by safety pins. The idea behind it was simple: A slight pressure, and it will all come apart. Above it was a slogan: "For Our Freedom and Yours," beneath it an unambiguous question: "How to Restructure the Soviet Union?"

Fact No 2. June 1989. A "Sajudis" publication, reporting the departure of USSR people's deputies from the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to Moscow, described it as a "visit to the Minotaur," "the strong and perfidious."

The spring and summer of 1989 saw a dynamic buildup of the degree of bias in articles distorting history and in statements by a number of "Sajudis" leaders made in public and already carried by official Lithuanian mass media.

In parallel with this, there emerged an obvious contradiction between the real political activity of "Sajudis" and the "official" claims by a number of its leaders who were elected USSR people's deputies. Deputies from the Lithuanian SSR conducted what could be described as a conversation "in the spirit of parliamentary tones" from the rostrum of the Kremlin Palace of Congress before the eyes of tens of millions of television viewers. But outside the union parliament their statements and slogans were different.

Fact No 3. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was addressed by USSR People's Deputies B. Genzyalis and R. Gudaytis. Here are just a few quotations. (The full text of their speeches can be read in SOVETSKAYA LITVA 28 June 1989).

B. GENZYALIS: "It is impossible to accurately say what would have happened had Lenin lived. Exactly the same, more than likely—he would have turned in the direction of totalitarianism...."

R. GUDAYTIS: "The party is declining with each passing moment, with each passing day...."

B. GENZYALIS: "No claim to the role of defender of sovereignty can be made by a party which is bound to obey a center located outside Lithuania...."

R. GUDAYTIS: "They realize that the grounded ship of the party... cannot be shifted either by union-wide propaganda campaigns or by the general secretary's inexhaustible optimism."

B. GENZYALIS: "The Lithuanian Communist Party now comprises two groups... One group represents the apparatus created by foreigners, the other represents the Lithuanian people."

R. GUDAYTIS: "So let us launch our own ship, let us create our own political party, proceeding from the premise that this step will not receive the center's blessings...."

Fact No 4. July 1989. V. Landsbergis, leader of "Sayudis" and USSR people's deputy, told a "Voice of America" correspondent during a trip to the United States that the option of the Lithuanian SSR's secession from the USSR is perfectly feasible.

Fact No 5. August 1989. A document was signed in the city of Gotland (Sweden). Here is just its opening passage: "The participants... discussed present-day political, economic, and social problems in **Soviet-occupied**(our emphasis—Editorial Office) Lithuania...." It went on in the same spirit and in the same style.

The signatories included three USSR people's deputies—V. Landsbergis, K. Moteka, and A. Burachas, who are members of the "Sajudis" Sejm Council—and Yu. Paletskis, chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, who was in Sweden at the time.

Fact No 6. The signatures of the aforementioned guests from Lithuania stood side by side with the signatures of A. Razma, chairman of the "Lithuanian Alliance of America"; A. Terlyatskas, representative of the "Lithuanian Freedom League"; representatives of several other organizations; and V. Bobyalis, chairman of something by the name of the "Supreme Committee for Lithuania's Liberation."

So, who are the fellow signatories of USSR people's deputies and a high-ranking official of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee?

FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES: The "Supreme Committee" headed by Bobyalis emerged in Kaunas in early 1944, during the fascist occupation.

But this does not mean that the organization fought the Hitlerite occupiers. On the contrary, the Hitlerites did not object to its existence, but vigilantly monitored it and used it as an accomplice. They gained a double advantage from this. On the one hand, an impression was created that the "committee" was waging some sort of struggle and this was used as bait for simple souls, while on the other hand this provided a good opportunity to use the "committee's" forces for subversive anti-Soviet work. This "committee,"

in parallel with a number of other formations (like the semilegal "Army for the Liberation (Freedom) of Lithuania," which was full of German intelligence agents through whom the Hitlerites supplied this "army" with machineguns, thousands of rifles, submachineguns, and pistols in 1943), brought numerous calamities to Lithuania and its people. And today the signature of the "committee's" present leader Bobyalis stands next to the signatures of USSR people's deputies....

It is typical that, at the Gotland meeting, Bobyalis cynically compared the actions of "Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, with the actions of the sinister "Front of Lithuanian Activists."

FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES: On the second day of the Patriotic War, the "Front of Lithuanian Activists" proclaimed a "provisional government of Lithuania" on whose behalf someone by the name of R. Prapuolenis read a radio address 23 June 1941 calling for an uprising against Soviet power and support for the German fascist troops. That gave the signal for armed operations by nationalist gangs. Plunder and murder began. The activists soon became the closest bloody associates of the fascist occupiers.

The parallel drawn by Bobyalis is simply monstrous, since people who experienced the "activists'" atrocities are still alive. Any comparison of their activity with "Sajudis" has only one meaning—political provocation.

Fact No 7.August 1989. Just a few days after the signing of the aforementioned document in Gotland, this time already in Vilnius speaking on republic television in the "Wave of Rebirth" program, a group of USSR people's deputies from Lithuania—the aforementioned B. Genzyalis and R. Gudaytis as well as E. Bichkauskas and Yu. Olekas—raised a question which no longer concerned the ways to consolidate all forces of perestroyka, as previously declared by these politicians, but ways for possible secession from the USSR, stressing, true enough, that "this must be done correctly" since "an independent Lithuania must maintain friendly relations with Russia in the future" because otherwise it may be deprived of "raw material resources."

We all carefully followed the debates at the USSR Supreme Soviet session which developed around the question of economic sovereignty, including that of the Lithuanian SSR. Let us recall how keen and, bluntly speaking, tactful deputies were in the process of this discussion. And the question was resolved in principle.

At the aforementioned meeting, however (right after this session), those selfsame deputies from the Lithuanian SSR declared on Lithuanian Television: "Economic sovereignty without political sovereignty is a fiction."

This is how Deputy E. Bichkauskas described his work in the parliament: **"I perceive our stay in Moscow as an opportunity to weaken the resistance emerging as a result of decisions in Lithuania."**

R. Gudaytis, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet: **"When Lithuania's new parliament is elected, there will be a change in the functions of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, who will subsequently stop participating in its work altogether...."**

As a matter of fact, the same idea was also expressed by V. Landsbergis in the aforementioned interview with "Voice of America."

Asked by a television viewer about the legitimacy of describing the Soviet Army as an army of "occupation," seeing that it liberated Lithuania from fascism, B. Genzyalis, another member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, replied somewhat ironically: "It liberated, but forgot to get out...." For his part, USSR People's Deputy Yu. Olekas put forward the concept of creating "our own army."

The deputies' statement crowned the appeal by "Sajudis" leaders to the republic's residents to be more active in signing the circulating document about withdrawal of "occupation troops" (they called for students' construction detachments to be used to accelerate the process of gathering signatures).

Toward the end of last year, at one of PRAVDA's "roundtable" discussions on "The USSR—Our Common Home," we asked Vilnius University Rector I. Kubilyus, who is now an elected USSR people's deputy, a question which was not all that simple. It boiled down to the fact that separatist ideas are clearly visible in "Sajudis" circles. But the rector replied quite convincingly and unambiguously that these are just "growing pains" typical of any young movement, and that secession from USSR and the very idea of it are absurd.

And yet today we have another USSR people's deputy—E. Bichkauskas—who is considered to be a perfectly serious politician in Lithuania, a citizen of the USSR, one of those entrusted with legislative power in the country, declaring:

"I think that in the very near future our participation in the USSR Supreme Soviet's work will become unnecessary and meaningless."

...It is a pity, because the voice of Lithuanian deputies is heeded, their opinion is by no means of secondary importance in the country's parliament.

Have the "growing pains" not become chronic?

It is time to ponder these questions. It is time to tell each other the truth. A policy of duplicity can lead only to mistrust, deadlock, and crisis.

Lithuanian Committee Adopts Decisions on Press

PM0808152589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 7 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Excerpts] The State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting's work to cover the processes of perestroyka and renewal taking place in Lithuania was examined at a session of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The resolution adopted on this question will be published in the press.

The question of the fulfillment of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee resolution dated 25 July 1988 on urgent measures to impose order in trade and the services sphere was also examined at the bureau session. [passage omitted]

A resolution on publications by social movements and informal groups was also adopted. It was noted that the republic needs to begin immediate preparation of a law on the press which will lay down the procedure for setting up new publications and their functioning and will provide for liability in the event of breaches. It was decided to put forward a proposal to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium about adopting a resolution which will initiate this work. Party committees must step up individual work with publishers of the alternative press and seek fruitful dialogue so that various groups in society are involved in solving the real tasks of perestroyka. Party workers and party committee members must set out their opinions on particular questions in the social movements' press and respond to comments. Party committees should study carefully articles by party members in the alternative press, draw conclusions from constructive criticism, and adopt rational proposals. It is recommended that party publications regularly survey press publications by social movements and informal groups, support their constructive ideas, and comment on one-sided publications and unobjective information. The republic's government should seek out opportunities for the centralized distribution of paper for popular social movement publications. So their editorial staff should set prices which are close to those for state publications and observe the norms governing the functioning of the state press. The attention of the Lithuanian SSR Prosecutor's Office and the republic's Supreme Court is drawn to the need to react vigorously to attempts in press publications to provoke national conflicts, to spread disinformation, or to encroach on society's tranquillity in any way. Citizens' statements about affronts to individual dignity and slanderous fabrications in the press must be promptly examined.

Resolutions were adopted on setting up new publications and reorganizing the publication of a number of departmental newspapers and journals. Instead of the former weeklies of the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Station and the Western Construction Administration it has been decided to publish in Snechkus a common newspaper MIRNYY ATOM for these two organizations and the local soviet. Proposals by the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Firefighting Administration and the republic council of the Lithuanian Volunteer Fire Service to publish an information bulletin called UGNYAGESIS (FIREMAN) were approved. Taking into account the public's proposals, BLAYVIBES AUSHRA, the publication of the Lithuanian Sobriety Society and BLAYVEYN LETUVA, published by the sobriety "Sajudis" named for Moteyus Valanchyus, were officially legalized. It was decided not to duplicate the MOTERIS journal in the Polish language and, using the paper allocated for this purpose, to publish in Polish the VILIYA journal of the Polish Society of Lithuania. A resolution was adopted to reorganize the INFORMATIKA publication and supplement of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Mathematics and Cybernetics Institute into a journal carrying the same name. It was agreed to publish the journal ATEITIS of Lithuania's ateitininkai [members of organization based on former Union of Lithuanian Catholic Students and Schoolchildren]. The new names of the Kedaynskiy, Tauragskiy and Zarasayskiy Rayon newspapers have been approved: KEDAYNYU GARSAS, TAURAGECHYU BALSAS, and ZARASU KRASHTAS.

A number of other questions of the republic's political and party life were discussed in the bureau, and resolutions were adopted.

Information Report on 10 Jul Lithuanian Plenum

PM1008154789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 1

["Information Report on Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] The 19th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum took place 10 July in Vilnius. The agenda was as follows:

1. Preparation of Lithuanian Communist Party program documents.
2. Organizational questions.

The plenum formed a commission and working groups to prepare the Lithuanian Communist Party program documents. The draft documents are to be presented for open discussion in August this year.

The plenum approved Viktoras Baublis as chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department. Vladislovas Yankauskas has been released from his duties as chief of the Central Committee Economics and Social Questions Department in connection with his transfer to other work.

Russian-Speaking Estonians Discuss Strike

PM2108143089 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 p 3

[Feature prepared by V. Naumov on discussion held at editorial office with Estonian republican council of strike committees representatives A. Guseletov, V. Zhuravlev, K. Kopytina, and G. Kulkov, together with "recent" member of Estonian Interdvizheniye A. Yakovenko: "Surmounting the Crisis of Confidence"; date of discussion not given; first four paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] [Editorial introduction] "A most important task in strengthening the cooperation among Soviet peoples and at the same time building a socialist rule-of-law state is the full and consistent implementation of the constitutional principle of citizens' equality regardless of racial and national affiliation.

"Any attempts to infringe upon people on grounds of nationality must be regarded as unacceptable and contrary to the principles of Soviet statehood.

"Soviet citizens must feel at home anywhere in the country—that can be said to be the supreme, ultimate goal of all work to harmonize interethnic relations." (From the CPSU draft platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy Under Present Conditions.")

The other day representatives of the Estonian republican council of strike committees came to the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA editorial office: A. Guseletov, worker at the "Dvigatel" Plant, V. Zhuravlev, worker at the marine fishing port, K. Kopytina, chief of a section at the Kh. Pegelman Electrical Equipment Plant, and G. Kulkov, worker at the Tallinn Ship Repair Plant. With them was A. Yakovenko, teacher at a Moscow higher educational establishment and recent member of the Interdvizheniye [International Movement] of Working People of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The meeting between the guests and the journalists at the editorial office clarified the strikers' positions and their assessment of the situation that has taken shape in the republic. We offer our readers an abbreviated transcript.

[Transcript begins] [Question] What led to this extreme measure—the strike, and on such a wide scale?

[Kulkov] The reason was not only the adoption of the Law on Elections, which infringes the rights of a section of the population. A whole range of problems exist in the republic today. There is the Law on Language; the Declaration on Sovereignty, which the USSR Supreme Soviet judged to be at variance with the country's Constitution (but in the republic, they merely took note of that); the removal of the red flag from Big Hermann Tower. Let me remind you, the flag was lowered and consigned to permanent storage on 23 February. Then the strike committees were formed. On 14 March a rally was held, with some 90,000 people present. They convinced us then that an Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum would be held, and our demands would be considered. The strike did not then take place, they managed to suppress it. But then the moment came when the draft law on elections was proposed. Throughout that period the republic's population was subjected to massive indoctrination in the mass media. We very much hoped that either the local organs, or at least the central organs would react in some way to the intensifying anti-Sovietism, to the torrent of abuse, slander, and threats that was pouring down on us, the Russian-speaking population. But when we recognized that no one could defend us, we decided we had to defend ourselves. Strike committees were set up at enterprises, as well as the republican council of strike committees. Talks were held with the republic leadership. The talks were very difficult, they were constantly trying to divert us from concrete questions into abstract discussions. We were worried by the assertion that our interlocutors represent the people. Who are we, then? Have they already separated us from the territory?

[Guseletov] I would like to speak about the electoral law specifically. The residence qualification is now being criticized. It is certainly an undemocratic measure, and according to our calculations some 120,000 people in the republic are excluded from participation in the elections. But there are also points there that have so far gone unnoticed. The equality of electoral okrugs is not stipulated. We consider this also a major shortcoming in the law. Why? Because in the elections of USSR people's deputies there were precedents in the republic, when, for instance, our director Yarovoy ran for an electoral okrug of 64,000 voters, while someone else ran for an okrug with only 28,000 voters. And this was not a mistake, but a subtle calculation. The People's Front candidates got through in smaller okrugs that are densely inhabited by the indigenous population. Russian-speaking candidates ran mainly in the cities. And there were fewer of them than there could and should have been. We see that as an infringement.

[Kopytina] Or take the Law on Language. We are not against Estonian being the state language, but we are against haste in the adoption of a law that provides no kind of backup. The law has been in force for some 6 months now, yet the materials for its implementation have not yet been produced. The question of the preparation of teaching cadres or educational and methodological aids was not raised or resolved, there are no language study centers or courses, and much else is lacking. Not a ruble has been allocated for the study of the Estonian language. No one heeded requests from the Russian-speaking section of the population not to hurry on this question.

And another thing. When the Law on Language was discussed, it was proposed that enterprises where up to 90 percent of the workers speak Russian be given the right to choose in which language to conduct business. This was not heeded. The Law was adopted, funds were not allocated, and as early as May an interpretation was issued by the State Committee for Labor and Social Questions and the republican trade unions council, stating that a worker who does not know the state language can be given 2 months' notice and dismissed according to the formula: Not suitable for the post or grade held.

I believe unconstitutional laws should be repealed or suspended. And, finally, some kind of mechanism should be developed to offer protection against the adoption of discriminatory legal acts in future. You cannot organize strikes like this every time, we are very well aware that it is ruinous.

[Kulkov] There are other such documents. For instance, a kind of qualifications checklist has been formulated, according to which we will all be divided into categories on the basis of our knowledge of the language. Each category is designated by a letter of the alphabet. If, say, a Russian speaker understands a little, but cannot speak it, he is assigned a certain letter of the alphabet and permitted to work as a fitter. A commission will conduct tests of suitability for the alphabetical category. Furthermore a draft law on immigration control is already circulating. With the authorities' permission, you can be a candidate for citizenship for a few years, and during that period you can learn the language, and then they will allow you a further period for adaptation. Years later, they will accept you as a citizen, and then they will give you permission to buy real estate.... But only then if your loyalty to the republic is proven. Or they can ask you to leave Estonia. That kind of thing is being discussed quite seriously. We simply do not know how to react.

[Yakovenko] It is less than a year since I left there. They called me an immigrant and an occupier, but all I did was to graduate from navigation school, and I ended up in Tallinn on assignment, assigned by the state. I worked there for 6 years as a young specialist, waiting in line for housing. They promised that in 3 years they would give me an apartment, a cooperative one, because receiving a state apartment is simply inconceivable. I waited 2 years more. Not one person from those who graduated in our year is still there now. Because sailing the seas and coming back and roaming around, with no prospects, is unbearable. And another thing. They did not even give us residence permits. Each of us was registered on his ship. Temporarily. But I happened to be ill, and the doctors recommended that I spend a year on land, to recuperate. With my speciality, there was nowhere for me to work. And nowhere to live. I had to discharge myself and come home to Moscow. Here, I found a job and got well. And now I cannot go back. I want to go back, many of my friends are still there as well as the work I love. But in order to register me even temporarily, without granting me a corner to live in or rights of any kind, my organization must pay R16,000 to the city soviet executive committee. Yet there is a shortage of specialists in my field. And I am not the only one. I was shown a sheaf of papers—correspondence all asking for people to be allowed at least to go to sea, because there is a shortage of specialists. They will not allow it! They simply do not consider these requests. That is how they force people to leave. Many people are leaving for that reason, particularly the specialists.

[Question] Perhaps this is not very typical. The republic certainly needs specialists. In civilized countries they are sought after, they are invited in from abroad. How do you explain this contradiction?

[Kulkov] The republic press once raised this very problem. It was stated publicly, for instance, that if 300,000 people leave, nothing particular will come of it. Let them go, they say, and we will find better people. All this is part of the ideology of repatriation for the sake of improving the demographic situation.

[Guseletov] I wish to say that not everyone thinks that. It has also been said, particularly when the delegation came from Moscow, that perhaps they are not acting entirely correctly in cutting off that section of the population.

[Kulkov] I would like to touch on the following point. In Estonia today all of industry—complex, large-scale industry, high-tech, as well as dirty, heavy industry—is mainly kept going by Russian speakers. This applies to plants, mines, sea and air transport, the power industry. At the same time some of the kolkhozes [collective farms], the entire system of management of the republic and the sphere of services and trade, the creative unions, and the intelligentsia consist mainly of the indigenous nationality.

[Kopytina] There is a very marked desire to put Estonian-speaking citizens in leadership positions everywhere. Take our plant, for instance. Some 85 percent of our collective are Russian speakers. That is the workers, but the plant leadership consists—more than 70 percent—of national cadres.

[Question] Why are the talks not succeeding, what is preventing dialogue?

[Kulkov] This whole process has gone so far that it is now extremely difficult to sit at the conference table. Much time has been wasted, much has changed in people's minds under the influence of massive indoctrination by the mass media. Mutual incomprehension is growing. People are divided not only on national grounds, but also by their political convictions.

[Guseletov] Why do we hold the position that is being portrayed as a reluctance to engage in talks? The point is that the government has repeatedly broken its own resolutions. Last November, for instance, an Estonian Supreme Soviet resolution on the use of national symbols was adopted. It said that the national flag is used together with the state flag of the republic, and placed on the left side. And when the resolution came out on hoisting the tricolor on Big Hermann Tower, we assumed that this meant there would be two flags on the tower. But you know what actually happened. The republic party leadership has also deceived us.

[Kulkov] Both sides have to want talks. We have yet to see a desire for compromise on the part of the leadership of the republic Communist Party, the government, and the Supreme Soviet. For their part, the Russian-speaking population went halfway to meet the leadership by breaking off the strike and starting talks. Some results were achieved at these talks. But the republic government in effect deceived the strike committee and the Russian-speaking population. Not one point in the agreements achieved was actually raised at the Supreme Soviet session. If we are to sit at the conference table again, we need some kind of concrete decision by the republican government. Further persuasion and threats will not work.

But that is not all the difficulties. We are becoming increasingly convinced that the republic leadership has closed ranks with the National Front [as published: Natsionalnyy Front], which was registered as a social organization a long time ago. Yet they are refusing to register Interdvizheniye, on various pretexts. This, too, intensifies our distrust.

And Interdvizheniye is being ignored in a situation in which more and more new structures are being set up in opposition to the Russian-speaking section of the population.

The formation of Estonian citizens' committees is currently under way. Signatures are being collected in all the rayon centers. The government is not taking any decisions, and is even conniving with the formation of these committees. There are already 76 committees in the republic today—150,000 people. The number is growing very rapidly, signatures are collected at stations and outside stores where shortage goods are being sold. Who is forming these committees? The Estonian National Independence Party, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments, and the Estonian Christian Union. These are extremist organizations, they advocate secession from the Union, a change in political orientation, and the revival of the bourgeois system. They are discussing the question of convening a congress of Estonian citizens, which is scheduled for the next few days. After the congress a demand will be submitted to the republic leadership for the transfer of political power to the "legitimate government." In this context there is speculation on the basis of the question of the 1939 pact, and these forces have adopted a decision to declare the Declaration on Estonia's entry into the Soviet Union unlawful.

Simply intolerable things are happening now: the unveiling of monuments to White bandits, fascists, SS men. There are opening ceremonies for a monument to Richard Vyakhe's gang, a monument was unveiled in the village of Kautla to the Erna-2 battalion—the Abwehr's school of sabotage and espionage, and a monument has been set up in memory of the bandits who drowned the Estonian Commune in blood, yet there are still people alive who are relatives of those whom the "fighters for national independence" hacked to pieces and drowned in ice-holes. They are alive, and they remember.

To make matters completely clear, I should say that I am half Estonian, and nonetheless I adhere to a different position, and I wish to say that not all Estonians think the same way, as they are now trying to make out. There are a large number of Estonians who assess the situation in the republic objectively and foresee the dire consequences of society's present shift to the right.

[Guseletov] Let me add that some Estonians are in solidarity with us. Primarily those with whom we have worked shoulder to shoulder for decades, they understand us. And they say that if so many people are dissatisfied today, something must be being done wrong. They include people who are well known to everyone. Gustav Naan. After his article in a central newspaper, people were constantly breaking his windows and setting fire to his doors. They did not let the man get on with his life, they insulted him in the press and called him to threaten reprisals. We have provided him with unbreakable glass now. Lembit Annus, chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST ESTONII. Former. Incidentally, he was removed. SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA is now the only newspaper that still tries to give other people the opportunity to speak out and preserves some kind of pluralism of opinion, without spiteful commentaries on one side or the other. But this evokes a negative reaction from the republic leadership and growing pressure from the right wing.

It is the "right" who particularly dislike our strikes. They try to provoke us. A car drove up to the Avtotrans No 7 branch, and someone shouted from the car that they are about to turn the machineguns on the strikers. People rushed out, and the car drove off. On the territory of the No 8 branch they tried to set fire to a gasoline pump by shooting from a signal pistol, but fortunately they missed. There are other similar attempts. There are constant telephone calls to all the members of the strike committee, threatening to hang them, and so forth. All this is distressing and could provoke an adverse reaction. We have stepped up our discipline, of course, no one can enter an enterprise without the permission of the strike committee. Rapid measures and decisions must be adopted, so as not to delay, since delay is fraught with danger.

[Question] Have you calculated the economic damage done by the strike?

[Zhuravlev] We recognize, of course, that our struggle has those consequences, too. I cannot tell you specific figures at the moment, we have only just set up an economic group which is beginning the calculations. But these losses are not our fault. Because the strikes were forced on us, it is a kind of act of desperation, the republican leadership forced us into the strike—we demand that all the damage done by the strike be repaid from the republic budget.

For the future, we have our own ideas, our own plans for improving economic activity at each enterprise individually and in general. Our aim is to develop the work of the United Council of Labor Collectives. That would be one step toward implementing the economic program. By uniting all the enterprises to form a single, powerful economic fist, we intended to concentrate resources on the resolution of the major economic tasks facing the republic. But unfortunately events developed in such a way that instead of resolving economic tasks, we had to defend our own political rights urgently. We were simply not given the opportunity to realize our economic intentions.

We are now concerned that the strike should not be extended, this could do no good, and would do considerable harm. At the same time we are grateful to those people and collectives that are helping us and have already transferred funds to our account number 66042 at No 7353 Savings Bank in Kalininskiy Rayon, Tallinn; this is useful assistance and moral support.

Contrary to the conjectures spread by our enemies, we are not opposed to self-determination for the republic. We also support regional economic accountability. Only not politicized, not oriented toward separating the republic from the Union. We want to live in an atmosphere of concord, in a society where people will not be "classified" according to their national affiliation. [transcript ends]

From the Editorial Office

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the noncompliance of certain decisions of the Estonian supreme organ of power with the USSR Constitution and the ending of the strike offer an opportunity for constructive dialogue. It is not only a question of repealing unconstitutional decisions, but of eliminating a whole range of accumulated problems and uniting all the republic's working people to resolve the tasks of perestroyka.

The interests and rights of 40 percent of the republic's population can no longer be ignored. The more actively they take steps toward one another, the sooner the tension will be relaxed and an opportunity will arise for rallying all the working people of Estonia.

Russian Authors Association Attacks Estonian Law

LD2208220189 Helsinki International Service
in Finnish 1500 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Russian Authors' Association strongly attacks Estonia. In the Tallinn paper NOORTE HAAL the Russian authors accuse the Estonians, and also other Balts, of accelerating nationalistic and antisocialist phenomena, and of oppression of Russians. The authors demand that the central leadership of the Soviet Union stops turning a blind eye to the Baltic countries. From Tallinn, Antti Halinen reports:

[Halinen] [passage omitted] The Russian Author's Association demands a principled position toward the accelerating nationalistic and antisocialist phenomena in Estonia from the Central Committee and Politburo of the Communist Party. And the authors of [word indistinct] also believe that it is correct to condemn the Estonian Language and Election Laws as they brutally oppress the Russians. An Estonian lawyer, a member of the leadership of the Popular Front, Lembit Koik, totally disagrees and does not consider that the Estonian Election Law conflicts with the Soviet Constitution as seen in Moscow.

The articles of the Constitution of the Brezhnev period are some sort of declarations but now, when there is a will for a constitutional state, that constitution can no longer be a basis, Lebit Koik says. According to him the matter is mainly about the fact that there is no Nationality Law in Estonia. It was decided that the Election Law was to be but through first because the elections are near. But in both cases there would have been conflicts. Koik compares the situation for example with Finland; if somebody today arrives by train in Helsinki, he will not tomorrow be given Finnish citizenship and the right to vote, Koik says. During 45 years, five times more people have gone through Estonia than the size of the population in the country. And the residence clause of the Election Law is an attempt to stop this stream of migration and get a permanent population into Estonia, also Russians who would be really interested in the affairs of the country.

And in the end this member of the Popular Front leadership, Lembit Koik, believes that the Estonian Parliament will maintain its position and will not change the Election Law.

Baltic Deputies' Congress Activity Viewed

PM1108092189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 12 Jul 89 p 3

[APN-attributed article by V. Kabakov under the rubric "On the Trail of Events": "Congress' Influence on the 'Baltic Path'"]

[Text] Before saying how fully the results of the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies satisfied the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of the Baltic republics, we must recall the specific program which this region's deputies took to the forum.

The so-called common "Baltic Platform" was drawn up during the work of the Baltic Assembly held in Tallinn 13-14 May. In addition to the deputies, representatives of the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts, as well as the "Sajudis" movement in support of perestroyka from Lithuania, participated in its work.

What occasioned the need to seek a common "Baltic path"? I believe that this question was answered best of all at the 14th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum by Maryu Lauristin, one of the leaders of the People's Front: "...All processes occur faster in a small system than a big one, and so we now assume the role of pioneers in the search for a way out both in the economy and in ideology and the political system."

Which basic documents were adopted at the assembly? Above all, there was the "Appeal to All USSR People's Deputies" with the aim of "uniting all progressively minded deputies to draw up a single program capable of defending the perestroyka process."

This appeal emphasized the need to change the country's state system and go over to building a real union of sovereign states on the basis of a new union treaty.

The appeal emphasized the need to strengthen organs of power locally and also contained a proposal to revise the present statute on the union republics' representation in the Soviet parliament.

The next document worthy of attention was the Declaration of Economic Independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. This document's basic idea was that the concepts of economic independence based on the "Agreed Principles of Republic Economic Accountability [khozraschet]" adopted by the chairmen of the republics' councils of ministers in Riga 23 September 1988 create real preconditions for "proceeding to a gradual improvement of the economy and, on this basis, substantially raising citizens' living standards."

Why did the question of economic sovereignty have to be raised for discussion at the congress? Because the concepts of regional khozraschet formulated in the Baltic republics have not met with understanding in union ministries and departments. Moreover, there appeared the draft document "On Common Principles of Economic Perestroyka," which was based on its standardization for all-union republics regardless of the degree of development of their infrastructure.

As Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, said in his speech at the congress: "Common principles unify and lead to uniformity of concept for all republics. It should be pointed out that standardization is characteristic of the overwhelming majority of documents originating from the center. At the same time it is acknowledged and emphasized at various levels that the political and economic situations in the republics are not identical."

The submission of the draft USSR law "On the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's Transfer to Republican Khozraschet" (in the form of an experiment) by Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, for discussion at the congress was to ensure legal guarantees so that the republic can live and work in the new way from January 1990. The submission of the draft Law on Economic Independence for examination at the congress by 109 deputies from the Baltic republics was a similar attempt.

At first sight the Baltic deputies' concept of republican khozraschet ran counter to the congress' common proclaimed idea of uniting all the country's forces on the basis of the struggle for perestroyka. Therefore their speeches, particularly during the first days of the congress' work, received a mainly negative assessment by deputies from other parts of the country. However, as the deputies familiarized themselves more closely with the documents, the number of supporters of the Baltic concept increased. The only thing not to change was the attitude toward it of a section of leaders of the country's central departments.

Were the Baltic deputies able to resolve their tasks in full? I think not. Above all, precisely because the congress itself was not yet ready to resolve the serious problems in the sphere of interethnic relations which have accumulated in the country. The different levels of preparedness for parliamentary democracy among representatives of the country's various regions also told. Two or 3 years ago, for example, the Baltic republics went through the stage of rally democracy which distinguished the congress. In addition, we must not forget the experience of parliamentarianism which Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had prior to 1940.

Therefore the Baltic republics' delegations mounted the rostrum again and again and sought to show in their speeches that the country's problems must not go on being resolved at the center, without heeding the voice of the outlying districts. It is precisely the desire to emphasize the importance of each union republic's opinion that can account for the Lithuanian delegation's proposal to vote by republics on the candidacies for both chambers of the Supreme Soviet, as well as the punctilious approach to preparing any documents concerning the activity of the future Constitutional Oversight Commission. In the opinion of the Baltic deputies, the opinion of each republic's representative must be heard in this commission.

The influence of the congress will be felt for a long time in the Baltic region. The republics' leadership will evidently take the path proposed by Estonia of creating a new legal basis, which sometimes conflicts with the existing one and without which the switch to independence is impossible. Here a great deal will also depend on Moscow's understanding of the processes taking place in the republics.

Writer Says Baltic Republics Should Be Assertive

AU2308093689 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 21 Aug 89 p 2

["Abridged version" of speech that Czech-Austrian writer Pavel Kohout intended to deliver at an international meeting in Riga at the invitation of the Latvian National Independence movement; Kohout was denied an entry visa, and his speech was telefaxed to be read at the meeting: "Friends in the Baltic Republics, Be Tolerant!"]

[Text] In modern European history no state has disappeared as hopelessly and without trace as the three Baltic republics. Legitimated solely by a false request for assistance, the big power which had just stumbled into a criminal system annexed them. The world war, the cold war, and the repressive apparatus of a totalitarian system ensured that, in the final analysis, the rest of the world intended to view this annexation as an unavoidable reality, and was not prepared to jeopardize the incipient large-scale business with this giant customer.

In the seventies only few politicians in the West were aware that the "black hole" into which small countries disappear has no limits. Following the central Asian nations, the northeast European countries were annexed, and later on it was already considered a foregone conclusion that Prague is also located in East Europe and belongs in that hole.

Paradoxically, it was a relatively distant country that had fallen prey to Moscow, which the West Europeans and the Americans found to be too much. Apart from their contradictory goals, the patriots of small Afghanistan scared their occupants and taught the free world normal thinking. Just as the Cyprus adventure swept away the Athens colonels, the Kabul escapade contributed to the overthrow of the Moscow dogmatists. The reformists soon realized that they can take the dangerous, mammoth-sized power apparatus unawares only with the help of those small ones that they neglected in the past.

Rebirth of National Identity

No matter whether the rebirth of the suppressed peoples' national identity was planned in a farsighted way, or had to be taken into account out of necessity, it has become one of the three pillars—and this is increasingly so, owing to the reform's own dynamism—that support the process, as long as one or the other does not collapse and bury this process indefinitely. Just as decisive as the political opening up of the incapacitated society and the recovery of the bankrupt economy is the question of whether the rising nations turn toward their common historic opportunity or become absorbed in their own problems and start waging belated liberation and civil wars.

Blind Revenge Harms Society

In human terms it is quite understandable that some people who had to spend endless years in prisons, camps, or in exile, want to enjoy their victory and want to see their enemies destroyed. It is also unavoidable to do justice and punish all the real villains. However, blind revenge that also persecutes discouraged fellow-travelers of the regime and simple members of the formerly dominating nation as enemies may be good for the soul, but it is bad for society.

I am dealing with this problem so much because I and my generation experienced twice, in 1945 and in 1948, how the euphoria of victory, which gave pent-up hatred additional explosive power, soon led to new injustice—however, the other way around. Therefore, the most important slogan of the legendary Prague Spring in 1968 was: "Decency and tolerance." These two aspects have survived the tanks of 1968, and have come back: in Gorbachev's perestroyka and in the resultant developments in the other countries.

If the democratization process is really supposed to be irreversible, one must not scare other sectors of the people, but one must win them over, so that the young democracy is defended by the entire society when it is threatened. Those who do not believe this should remember postwar Germany, the Western part of which has risen from the bottom of history to become the freest and richest European country today.

Overcome Political Immorality With Morality

The rebirth of the Baltic states and their self-confident reappearance on the European map is to me the most convincing result of the development called "restructuring." Among other things, it represents a great hope for Czechoslovakia—once a proud country—which, like the Baltic Republics during the past decades, was and still is sinking into insignificance and oblivion. Friends in the Baltic Republics, do not let yourselves be discouraged by those who would like to replace one kind of intolerance with another: Political immorality can only be overcome and neutralized for ever by morality. Do your best, so that in protecting your national interests, the reform as the task of the century which concerns us all will not be destroyed, because without this reform you would possibly have waited longer than your nations would have been able to bear—as you surely must know.

The Greatness of the Small Ones

If you succeed in asserting yourselves and at the same time helping the hopes of many fellow sufferers to materialize, this will be a feat that will give the small ones undying greatness.

Acting Interior Minister on Abkhaziya Situation

LD2308181389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Report by special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko from a briefing of the Abkhaziya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, including an interview with Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Lominadze, acting Abkhaziya internal affairs minister; date, place of intervew not given—recorded]

[Text] [Omelchenko] At this Abkhaz Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] briefing, a critical evaluation was made of the work of the law enforcement bodies since the beginning of the year and shortcomings and omissions were noted which led to the tragic situation of mid-July. A sharp rise in serious types of crimes is observed—murder, theft, and violent robbery. Against the background of unrest between nationalities, the struggle against economic crime has slackened—the theft of socialist property—and the active work in exposing cases of bribery and profiteering has been reduced. Well, this fact, in my opinion, eloquently shows just who profits from conflicts between nationalities.

Immediately after the briefing I met Yevgeniy Nikolayevich Lominadze, acting minister of internal affairs of Abkhaziya.

Yevgeniy Nikolayevich, just why is it that the number of serious crimes is growing?

[Lominadze] First of all, the reason lies in the fact that, on the whole, the law enforcement bodies, and in particular, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its territorial subunits have turned out not to be prepared to work in an extreme situation such as the one which arose in our republic in mid-July. There are errors in the educational work of the staff collective, in professional training, and in the provision of technical and scientific equipment. The Abkhaz MVD is probably one of the most backward in this respect.

[Omelchenko] Well, what do you think will be the solution to the situation in which the autonomous republic now finds itself?

[Lominadze] We are seeking that solution, primarily, in the solution of those immediate tasks and problems which are at the center—remanning and the selection and placement of personnel. You know that recently there was a collegium of the Abkhaz MVD at which we dismissed five leaders of territorial bodies. With respect to 13 staff and senior officials, we have imposed the strictest reprimand on them. However, you cannot solve the problem by reprimands and dismissals alone. I consider that it is necessary, no matter what the cost, to restore cohesion [vspayannosti] and friendship in the collective. After all, the Autonomous Republic of Abkhaziya is inhabited by practically every nationality, and all these nations are represented in all our bodies. And without cohesion, without mutual confidence and mutual trust between the representatives of different nations who have to resolve one task—the struggle against crime—we, on the whole, will not overcome the problem. And there is no doubt that without the assistance of local soviet and party bodies and the public we will not be able to resolve that problem completely. Well, I see it namely as through these key factors—through their assistance—that we will be able to resolve the problem.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Detailed

Deputy Internal Affairs Chief Cited

LD2308171789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 23 Aug 89

["On events in Nagorno-Karabakh"—TASS headline]

[Text] Stepanakert, 23 August (TASS)—The start of the week in the autonomous oblast was marked by the resumption of work at the enterprises and building sites and in the motor transport sector and the organizations and institutions which had been on strike since 3 May. However, the work schedules here has not been completely restored. A significant proportion of workplaces remain empty.

The strike, which has lasted almost 4 months, has put many families in a difficult material position. The population's financial income, taking account of social consumption funds, has declined by more than R50 million in this period.

The decision to restore the normal work schedules on the whole territory of the oblast adopted by the congress of plenipotentiaries of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh held in Stepanakert last week is, unquestionably, positive. Other decisions made by that congress deserve more detailed description, as do the circumstances in which it was held.

With the introduction of the special form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] the powers of the oblast party and soviet bodies, which were turned into the party and soviet apparatuses of the special administration committee, were temporarily suspended. The supporters of the Karabakh movement are now declaring that this measure contradicts the CPSU statute and is unconstitutional. One of the strikers' demands was the restoration of the rights of the oblast party and soviet bodies and the transfer to the special administration committee of the functions of a representation of the central authorities. An accord was reached at a meeting of USSR people's deputies from the NKAO and leaders of the oblast with the country's leadership at the end of June, to the effect that the timescale and procedure for the restoration of those bodies would be determined by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the special administration committee. It was proposed that the oblast party committee would be elected in the course of a report-back and election campaign, and the oblast soviet of people's deputies would be elected during routine elections, bringing the structure of the executive committee into line with the NKAO's transition to regional financial autonomy, which has been taking shape.

The continuing strike, however, the avoidance by certain local officials of tackling importance socioeconomic matters that fall within their direct competence, irresponsible actions by hooligan-like elements on both sides, and ill-considered pieces in the republican and local press undermined the situation and, together with other factors, eventually led to a fresh spiral of tension in the NKAO and to the blockade of the oblast. Assembling in these conditions, the congress of plenipotentiary representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh, which to all intents and purposes only represents its Armenian majority, "to stablize the situation in the region prior to the restoration of the functioning of the oblast soviet and the oblast party committee" elected a national council and gave it "on behalf of the people the leadership in the running of the oblast in all spheres during the period between congresses." The decisions of the congress characterize the national council as "a unified people's organ of Communists and non-party people. Acknowledging the program and CPSU rules and acting within the framework of Soviet laws, its members pursue their line in the interests of the people through local soviets, people's deputies, party committees, trade unions, the Komsomol, work collective councils, and public organizations." It is also emphasized that the "national council is independent in its activities and comes under the supervision only of the congress. Its decisions are mandatory for implementation throughout the entire territory of Nagorno-Karabakh." It is not clear by what means the national council intends to carry out its declared paramount task of stabilizing the situation in the NKAO and averting conflicts on interethnic grounds. The extensive specific program for tackling these issues and the duties and powers of the national council and its presidium have not yet been made public. Nor is it understood how relations will be formulated between the national council and the special administration committee which has complete authority within the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on imposing a special form of administration in the NKAO.

The congress' address to the Azerbaijan people states:

"The Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh, basing itself on the inalienable right of every people to determine its own political status, has unequivocally called, through decisions of sessions of the oblast soviet, for secession from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and entry into the Armenian SSR. This in no way encroaches on the true interests of the Azerbaijan people since no people that holds sway over other peoples an be free." The address ends with an appeal for prudence and soberness, for mutual recognition of each other's inalienable rights, and for concrete actions toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Of course lawyers are yet to evaluate the competence of the congress using the correspondence of its documents to state legislation, bearing in mind the form of special administration in effect in the NKAO. However, it is clear that the leaders of the Armenian section of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh are striving to find new, effective forms of active expression of will to loudly remind the authorities and the public about the issue which they have raised.

More promising is the way taken in their desire to halt illegal actions against each other by the residents of the neighboring villages of Vaguas and Charektar in Mardakertskiy Rayon. To be sure, the peace talks between them did not start entirely peacefully: To organize a meeting between the most respected people of the two villages, two hostages were seized. They were released afterward, in the presence of the rayon commandant; the elders came to the mutual understanding of the simple fact that a bad peace is better than a good war.

The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh has become a tight knot. It must not be tackled hastily as some are eager to do. An attempt at such a solution will inevitably turn out to be against many people.

The problem of NKAO must be tackled in a balanced way, excluding all risk of possible mistakes, which are fraught with the danger of a further exacerbation of an already inflamed situation.

Commenting on the crime situation in the NKAO, I.F. Shilov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, lieutenant general of the militia, said:

"There has been a considerable increase in Nagorno-Karabakh of violations of the law. Firearms, homemade explosive devices, and bottles with combustible mixtures are being confiscated from some residents of the NKAO and adjacent rayons. There are attacks on armed guards at installations of the national economy. Great alarm is being caused by the continuing 'stone' war on roads. As a result of such illegal actions, many passengers and transport drivers are being injured. Considerable damage is being done to the national economy and schedules of deliveries of goods and foodstuffs to the population of the oblast are being disrupted. Firearms are being increasingly frequently used in committing law violations, and shots are being fired at population centers, bases of internal troops, and road convoys being escorted by the military.

"In these conditions some leaders of the informal associations are irresponsibly demanding that the subunits of troops be withdrawn from the special region, although it is, specifically, the internal troops which are the main guarantor of the prevention of mass interethnic clashes and the maintenance of public order in the region. Taking account of the situation which has developed, the NKAO special administration committee has put out an address to the population, providing an objective analysis of the situation and the state of law and order on the territory of the autonomous oblast.

"The operational situation in the region has required a sharp increase in the forces engaged in uncovering and investigating the crimes being committed. By a decision of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, an investigation and operations group has been set up in the oblast, comprising staff of the criminal investigation department, investigative bodies, and the crime prevention service. Its main task is to investigate particularly dangerous crimes committed on the basis of interethnic dissension. Its work is conducted in close interaction with the oblast procuracy and subunits of the internal troops. A number of successful joint operations have been conducted. However, it would be premature to speak of a stabilization of the situation in the oblast in the sphere of the activity of the law enforcement bodies. The problems of restoring and strengthening law and order in the NKAO can be solved only in conjunction with a settlement of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh."

Situation Remains 'Tense'

PM2308135189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by nonstaff correspondent V. Byrkin: "Stepanakert, 22 August"]

[Text] The call to report for work made at the rally in Stepanakert on 19 August has not on the whole yet had any effect. On 22 August only a negligible number of enterprises and organizations were working. The decision to halt the strike was made by the Congress of Authorized Representatives of the Population of Nagorno-Karabakh, held a few days prior to this. The congress elected a national council. Whether the national council is registered by the Special Administration Committee, which has been granted the right by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree to register public organizations and independent associations in the oblast, will depend on whether this formation is a public organization or whether it puts itself forward as an alternative to the existing authority.

The positive results of the congress were: The appeals to end the strikes and prevent violations of public order and the message to the Azerbaijan people which speaks of a desire to put an end to feuding between the neigboring peoples and which proposes switching "to specific actions and steps leading to a peaceful future for our children, who have to live and work on this land together."

However, the situation in the autonomous oblast and adjoining regions of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic remains tense. A number of the oblast's population centers are effectively under blockade. Individual cars are formed into convoys at checkpoints and then proceed under the armed escort of internal troops. According to a report by a representative of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center, for example, a truck, with three people in the cab, was fired on on the night of 21-22 August. The driver, suffering from a gunshot wound to the head, was dispatched to Stepanakert Oblast Hospital. The "stone-throwing war" on the oblast's roads shows no abating: The presence of internal troops does not always serve as a deterrent to aggressors.

At the same time some people are demanding that the subunits of internal troops be withdrawn from the region. On 22 August the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee published an address in the oblast newspaper which speaks of the prematureness of a troop withdrawal and says that such provocative statements are designed solely to destabilize the situation.

People are tired of the constant tension and disorganization. Thousands of refugees are without work or accomodation and are experencing material hardship.

The oblast's population pins some hopes on the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session, which will examine the range of questions linked with the NKAO problem.

NKAO Official Criticizes Azerbaijani Leadership

NC0908133089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Interview with Oleg Yesayan, head of the socioeconomic department of the party appartus of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast special administration committee, by ARMENPRES correspondent A. Grigoryan; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Yerevan, 5 Aug (ARMENPRES)—[Grigoryan] Comrade Yesayan, the dynamics of the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem over the last year and a half reveal that probably on no other matter has the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] leadership shown such stubborn resistance as in the case of economic rapprochement between the NKAO and Armenia. How would you, as one of the party leaders overseeing the economic sector, explain this fact?

[Yesayan] You are correct in observing that the Azerbaijani side is inclined to obstruct the broadening and deepening of economic ties between the NKAO and Soviet Armenia. This is being attempted in parallel with the ideas expressed in the mass media by Azerbaijani leaders of various ranks, scientists, and experts who claim that the NKAO's socioeconomic development level is higher than that of the other regions of the republic and even that of Armenia. One can only be bewildered in the face of such baseless claims, especially as the facts, extensively reported by the central press, prove the contrary. Yet these falsehoods continue to be published. Apparently someone is extremely concerned. Who is he and what is he concerned about?

In order to reply to this question comprehensively one should recall the irrefutable truth that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Let's first talk about politics. As regards the NKAO, this policy amounts to the following: In line with the decision of the Caucasian bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks of 5 July 1921 and, as has now been revealed, with a decision at the highest level prompted by ulterior motives, a part of Armenia, that is the NKAO, was artificially incorporated into the structure of the neighboring republic regardless of the fact that this region was almost exclusively inhabited by Armenians. For the Armenian people the NKAO problem emerged from that very moment and is manifested in the aspiration of the overwhelming majority of the oblast's population for the restoration of the historical truth and reunification with their compatriots. As for Azerbaijan, which received the NKAO by an arbitrary decision and which does not want to lose someone else's most precious land, that problem was reduced to one of gradual uprooting of the indigenous population from its own native lands. Unfortunately, the leadershop of the Azerbaijani republic succeeded in fully implementing that policy in the Nakhichevan autonomous republic where virtually no Armenians exist today. [sentence indistinct]

[Grigoryan] So economic levers were used to achieve this objective?

[Yesayan] That is correct. The economic structure established in the NKAO over decades was designed to secure the NKAO's clear unilateral dependence on the Azerbaijanian SSR. That in turn presented the leadership of the republic with the opportunity to deal with the NKAO as it pleased. I will only mention a few examples. Taken as a whole, other areas of the republic have received three times more fixed assets than the NKAO over the last quarter century. Over the same period, other areas of Azerbaijan have received three times, if not more, capital investments for social and economic development than the NKAO. In addition, the actual distribution and development of the productive forces were intentionally uneven resulting in the substantial differences in the level of development of the various regions of the oblast. Contrary to sound thinking, for decades the entire industry of the oblast was centralized in Stepanakert, the oblast's center. During the 1981-85 period alone, the number of people employed in this branch increased by 12 percent when the increase in entire oblast's population for the same period was 11 percent. The result of such fatherly concern on the part of the republic's leadership was that many Armenian villages in the NKAO ceased to exist due to the exodus of labor. At the same time, an influx of workers from adjacent Azerbaijani regions into Stepanakert was being observed. It was planned to fill more than 70 percent of the available jobs with women workers. Between 1926 and 1988 there was a 56 percent decline in the population of Hadrut rayon at a time when the overall population in the oblast increased by 20 percent.

It is obvious that a man does not abandon his country. But how can people survive when consumer and social conditions have been lacking for decades and when all outlets are closed and you see no chance for improvement for yourself and your children? The people of Artsakh [NKAO] are abandoning their fatherland, taking with them those manuscripts so precious to each Armenian. I think that now it is clear why the Azerbaijani side has become less vehement in its opposition to the improvement of cultural ties between compatriots.

[Grigoryan] To put it differently, you mean to say that the Azerbaijani leadership is now seeing the results of its anti-Armenian economic strategy in the NKAO?

[Yesayan] Exactly. What's more, that policy has not undergone changes. The aims of the past and present leadership of the republic are known to all. The Armenian SSR's mere delivery of economic aid to its compatriots is enough to raise an immediate wave of indignation in Azerbaijan. It is enough to recall the unfortunate story of Topkhane or those numerous impediments which had to be overcome in amalgamating the Stepanakert electrical appliances factory into the Luys production association. Is not a desire to obstruct the dispatch of construction material and other goods and technology from Armenia to the NKAO not the factor behind the blockade of oblast's roads? Is the Azerbaijani leadership not following the same old political objective when it suddenly starts improving only the Azerbaijanian villages of the oblast and then settles them with so-called refugees, who settle there permanently? Nothing so proves the legality of the demands of the Armenian section of the NKAO population than the real actions of the Azerbaijani side. We would like to hope that the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission who were in the NKAO lately were also convinced of this. No matter how painful it is to admit, the facts irrefutably attest that the Azerbaijani SSR in its position toward the NKAO problem is not acting in accordance with human values. It is no coincidence that the stance of the Armenian side is gradually gaining more acceptance both in our country and abroad. The most explicit confirmation of that was the manner of discussion of the NKAO problem at the first congress of USSR people's deputies.

[Grigoryan] What is the way out of the situation?

[Yesayan] For almost the last 70 years the Azerbaijani leadership was able to augment its anti-Armenian policy in NKAO with a relevant economic mechanism in order to achieve its objective. However, today, the people of NKAO in view of everything have said "no" to that policy and the accompanying economic structure. They declared that the NKAO problem must be given a political solution. I see no other alternative but the reunification of the oblast with Armenia.

Let me also mention the ethics of justice for such a solution. At present, the Armenians, as a national state entity, are living upon a mere 1/10th of their historical land as a consequence of their tragic past. In my view, no other nation has suffered such a fate. All these cannot but affect the historical memory of the Armenians who, having before them the examples of Nakhichevan autonomous republic and the NKAO, are convinced that even under socialism a section of people can be deprived of their aspirations to one of man's most sacred rights: the right to have his own country. The Artsakh people have no other way to protect that right but the NKAO's reunification with Soviet Armenia. Alas! Not everyone grasps this truth.

Armenia's Arutyunyan Receives USSR Minister

NC0808140189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1650 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, received [name indistinct], USSR minister of power and electrification on 6 August. The minister is visiting Armenia in connection with organizing the acceleration of the construction and restoration of the power plants, engineering installations, and communication centers. This problem has a particularly important bearing on the earthquake zone because at present the delay in commissioning residential buildings is mostly connected to constructing water and power supply plants. [word indistinct] the inefficient exploitation of the entire engineering installations.

During the conversation Suren Arutyunyan underlined that the most important task at present is to remove people from under the tents by [word indistinct] and provide them with permanent and temporary dwellings. Therefore, it is necessary to speed up the construction of central heating sysytems particularly in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak as well as in rayon centers of the disaster zone; a regular supply of water and power must be secured and [word indistinct] by a temporary system. Nearly one thousand qualified specialists will be enlisted to work in the disaster area to speed up this work as well as to commission the residential buildings and sociocultural centers being built by the USSR [words indistinct]. The USSR Power Ministry will help in the construction of a 362-seat school in Leninakan before the academic year begins, another 162-seat school will be commissioned in (?Lengest) town. The ministry has also undertaken to provide the families of the Armenian power workers with houses this year.

During the meeting, attention was focused on the the future power development in the Armenian republic, the stable supply of power to the national economy under the conditions of tight power balance, and on the improvement of the ecological situation while increasing power capacity. It was indicated that the Armenian nuclear power station will have been completely reequipped by 1993 and start functioning on natural gas. For this purpose negotiations are being held with two [words indistinct] from Italy.

Participating in the meeting were: Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian republic's Council of Ministers; Oleg Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Grayr Oganesyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's state committee for construction affairs; Gagik Arutyunyan, head of the socioeconomic department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Valeriy Saakayan, head of the specialized construction unit of the USSR Power Ministry; and Felix (Agopjanyan), director of Armenian power production unit.

Armenian Party Discusses Earthquake Restoration

NC2308142889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 23 Aug 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpt] At the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee meeting yesterday the issue of accelarating restoration work in the earthquake zone was discussed. The press release on the meeting lists the following participants: [name and title indistinct] of the CPSU Central Committee; representatives of a number of union republics and (?supervisory boards); deputy chairmen of the councils of ministers of the union republics; ministers and [word indistinct]; the first party secretaries of the Armenian City and Rayon Committees; chairmen at the City and Rayon Soviet Executive Committees of Peoples Deputies; and (?representatives) of cultural and economic organizations. [passage omitted]

Moldavia Strikes Continue; Party Leader at Rally

LD2308175589 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Tiraspol August 23 TASS—Moldavia's second largest city, Tiraspol, is gripped by strikes as workers resumed their action yesterday after a five-day moratorium.

The labour action in the southwestern republic of the Soviet Union was prompted by disagreement on the part of non-Moldavian workers with some provisions of draft language laws submitted for consideration to the republican parliament to begin its session on August 29.

More than ten factories, including the work-force of two giant cotton and garments mills, joined today the twenty businesses that were already on strike.

Work stoppages are also reported at several enterprises in the cities of Rybnitsa and Bendery.

The strikers say that they have nothing against making Moldavian the state language and they agree to learn it.

But they believe that the republican government, acting under pressure from the Moldavian people's front, intends to handle serious questions without taking into account the interests of non-Moldavians who make up 40 per cent of the republic's population.

The Moldavian Communist Party leader, Semyon Grossu, addressed today a rally in Tiraspol's central square, attended by thousands of people, and urged workers to report for work to enable the republican leadership to consider their demands.

The Workers' Alliance, a newly established public organisation that unites councils of work collectives of more than 200 Moldavian enterprises, held a meeting in Moldavian capital Kishinev today. The alliance backed the strikers' demands.

Moldavia's Grossu Speaks on Interethnic Relations

PM1108081589 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 18 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[ATEM correspondent report: "For Harmonization of Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] The rallies held recently in Rybnitsa showed that the workers in the city and the rayon have a good understanding of the processes which are now taking place in the republic. However, the local Communists still have much to do to implement the decisions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 13th Plenum on tasks to normalize the existing sociopolitical situation. This was discussed during the 15 July meeting between the party-economic aktiv and representatives of labor collectives in Rybnitsa and S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. It was opened by Ye.P. Berdnikov, first secretary of the Rybnitsa Party City Committee [gorkom].

The gorkom assembly hall was packed on that Saturday. And this is quite understandable. After all, very serious and topical things were at issue—the existing sociopolitical situation in the republic and problems of interethnic relations.

Recently, the Central Committee first secretary noted, this situation has become unstable and has deteriorated, as in a number of regions of the country, particularly as a result of various unsanctioned rallies and demonstrations which transgressed the law and were accompanied by extremist sallies, nationalist attacks, and also by the circulation of all types of rumors, conjectures, and provocative statements and leaflets. Such actions do not originate in production collectives or among the working class and labor peasantry. They are carried into the streets and squares by individual groups of nationalist and chauvinist people who sometimes put forward their demands to the republic's leadership and organs of state power in the form of an ultimatum.

The People's Front, the "Yedinstvo" international movement, the "Gagauz Khalky" movement, and some others unfortunately have not yet adopted a constructive stance consonant with the interests of creation and perestroyka, and their extreme actions in no way promote the consolidation of all progressive forces. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government work constantly with activists from these formations. Meetings with them have taken place in party rayon committees and gorkoms. They were informed from the very beginning that ultimatums and pressure regarding the resolution of language and other problems and the review of the significance of various historical dates would not be accepted.

A draft law devoted to the activities of social formations is now being readied for submission for examination to the USSR Supreme Soviet session. It provides, in particular, that the work of these formations shall take place under the supervision of local soviet organs, which can put a stop to it if it is not in line with legislative acts and the USSR Constitution. In its actions the republic's leadership proceeds and intends to proceed from these laws. At the same time it supports everything positive and consonant with the spirit of the time and of perestroyka in the activity of these social formations. Work with them is continuing and specific positive results have already been achieved. Thus during the meetings with movement leaders they admitted that interethnic relations in the republic will not be improved by rallies and demonstrations and stated their readiness to reject extreme actions.

The movement leaders, the speaker continued, also agreed to sit down at a "roundtable" in front of television cameras, hold an open dialogue with their opponents, find common ground, make contact, work out approaches to the search for correct solutions, and adopt a joint resolution calling for the strengthening of friendship and fraternity among all nations and ethnic groups living on our republic's territory. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee welcomes such steps. In its work it relies primarily on production collectives, the working class, and the working peasants, in other words, on the driving force of the socialist society and perestroyka. The republic's leadership supports all actions by labor collectives aimed at improving the work of enterprises, farms, and associations and normalizing the situation there and relations between the representatives of various nations and ethnic groups.

The appeal adopted by the collective of Kishinev's "Mezon" plant named for the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR deserves approval. It contains a call to renounce rallies and demonstrations, which only complicate the already complex situation, adopt a firm internationalist stand, and ensure the fulfillment of all programs for labor collectives' production activity and social development. The Moldavian metallurgical plant collective also adopted a similar appeal on the eve of its profession's holiday. Supporting these actions, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee sets all party organizations—from primary organizations to rayon and city organizations—the task of uniting the efforts of Communists to fulfill the resolutions of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee 13th Plenum, which unanimously advocated the consolidation of all progressive forces on the basis of the principles set out in the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee, which resolutely condemn all types of extremism and the kindling of ethnic emotions. It is time to put an end to local party organs' passiveness on these matters. The struggle to improve interethnic relations must be the main focus of organizational, political, and educational work among all sections of the population, all nations, and all nationalities living on the republic's territory.

Since ancient times, the speaker continued, representatives of various nations and nationalities have lived side by side on Moldavian soil. That is what history ordained and that is how we will continue to build our common home together. In order to move further forward, it is necessary to remove the obstacles of the past, get rid of the "blank spots" in history, and resolve all the problems which worry people. Explanatory work must be carried out patiently, through persuasion, not administration by decree. Above all, nationalities policy must of course be brought into line with today's realities, and the urgent political and socioeconomic problems must be resolved. The central problem is the expansion of the independence and rights of union and autonomous republics and other national territorial formations. At the same time, harmonious combination of the interests of regions and the center on the basis of active participation by the republics in the all-union division of labor must be guaranteed.

There is much work ahead. Above all, the first secretary of the Central Committee stressed in conclusion, order must be imposed in finances and pricing, commodity-money relations must be developed, the market must be saturated with consumer goods, and a broad program for the construction of housing and cultural and consumer service facilities must be implemented. In the spiritual sphere it is necessary to recognize the diversity of national cultures as a very great social and historical asset and a unique possession of the peoples of the whole Soviet Union. The labor collectives of Rybnitsa are called upon to make their contribution to resolving these important tasks.

Expressing the readiness of the working people of the city and the rayon to devote all their energy, knowledge, and experience to achieving the set aims, T.I. Danilova, secretary of the party organization of the Rybnitsa knitted underwear factory, V.P. Loboda, chairman of the Zhura village soviet, and N.A. Bogdanov, chief engineer at the Moldavian metallurgical plant, stressed that labor collectives will do everything in their power to further strengthen socialist democracy, increase the well-being of the republic's population, and develop the culture of the Moldavian and all the other nations and nationalities living in our land. They also called for tolerance, restraint, and common sense to be displayed in everything concerning nationalities problems and for loyalty to internationalist traditions and Soviet patriotism to be strictly observed.

Every citizen, the speakers stressed, must take a firm and clear stand in the prevailing situation, decisively oppose any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, or extremism, and promote in word and deed the calming of interethnic passions and the strengthening of friendship and fraternity between peoples.

S.K. Grossu answered numerous questions posed by participants in the meeting.

Ukrainian Politburo Views Patriotic Education

PM0808130589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At a routine sitting the Central Committee Politburo has approved measures on the results of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum. They define the main avenues of the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's party committees to deepen the restructuring of political and organizational work and to step up party influence on the solution of questions of socioeconomic development, the implementation of political reform, and the renewal of spiritual life.

The Central Committee has defined additional measures to improve international and military-patriotic education and mass defense work in the republic. It was noted that the party organizations and ideological aktiv have activated work to form internationalist convictions and lofty patriotic feelings in young people. Experience of this work is being acquired under the conditions of democracy and glasnost. At the same time the pace, dimensions, and quality of this work still do not accord everywhere with the demands of perestroyka. In a number of oblasts international and military-patriotic education is conducted without due consideration for the changes taking place in the field of interethnic relations and the provisions of Soviet defense doctrine. The necessary attention is not being paid everywhere to the improvement of the ties between labor collectives, educational establishments, public organizations, and military units.

The Central Committee has recommended to the oblast committees, the Kiev City party committee, the oblast soviet executive committees, and the relevant ministries and departments analyze the state of the international and military-patriotic education of the working people and young people and take steps to eliminate the shortcomings existing in the matter. It has been proposed that the coordination of the efforts of all interested organizations be improved in this work.

The sitting discussed the question of work on the education of the personnel of the republic's internal affairs organs and the formation in them of lofty moral and professional qualities. Attention was drawn to the fact that in a number of places questions of creating appropriate working and housing and consumer conditions for internal affairs organs workers are being resolved badly and aid for them from the local soviets of people's deputies has been markedly weakened.

It has been recommended to the ministry and the political administration and party committee of the Ukrainian Internal Affairs Ministry that they implement additional measures to keep cadres in the internal affairs organs, to create appropriate housing and consumer conditions for them, to improve their professional skill, and to form loyalty to their oath and official duty and intolerance toward violations of socialist legality and encroachments on the Soviet socialist system.

The mass media must provide objective coverage of the militia's difficult work to preserve public order and defend the interests of the state and the rights of citizens.

The party oblast, city, and rayon committees have been instructed to take measures to increase the role of the internal affairs organs and the influence of party organizations in rallying their collectives to step up the struggle against law violations. These questions must be discussed at party meetings of the internal affairs organs. Everything must be done to support and develop the labor collectives' initiative in creating workers' detachments for assisting the militia and organs of self-management in microrayons and to galvanize the activity of the voluntary people's militia and other public formations.

Changes in Ukrainian Election Laws Outlined

18001502 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Tsikora, Kiev: "Whom To Promote, How To Select" under the rubric: "Fact and Commentary"]

[Text] **New draft laws have been published in the Ukraine on the election of people's deputies in the republic.**

In the course of preliminary discussions which will last until October, 37 million voters will be able to give their evaluation of the changes made in a large number of clauses of the UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution.

As in union legislation, it is proposed to introduce a new highest organ of governmental power in the Ukraine—a republic congress of peoples' deputies. It will form a permanent and periodically renewable republic supreme soviet of 120 deputies. The present UkSSR Supreme Soviet numbers 650 deputies.

But the draft laws selected for discussion far from repeat the corresponding clauses of union legislation. For instance, there is a series of proposals which invariably bring out polemics at the Congress of Peoples' Deputies as at sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the land. There is talk of okrug-wide pre-election meetings and elections of people's deputies from public organizations. How is it proposed to solve these questions in the Ukraine in the light of the new laws?

It was decided to reject completely the rigorous "screening mechanism" of candidates for peoples' deputy positions, which was done though the okrug-wide pre-election meetings. It is not foreseen in the Constitution of the republic that such meetings would be conducted in the Ukraine.

Election of peoples' deputies from public organizations is further specified and refined. In relation to the norms of Soviet legislation, their numbers are reduced. In the Ukrainian parliament they will make up only a quarter of the deputies, while at the first Congress of Peoples' Deputies in Moscow they formed a third.

There are other innovations. It is proposed, for instance, to widen the circle of collectives which have the right to nominate candidates for deputy positions. It is thought that henceforth the right will be given to students at institutions of higher learning, technical schools, and trade-technical schools.

Two more new items: In publicizing information at election okrugs about the election of deputies to the congress and local soviets, henceforth the number of voters in each okrug will be indicated. The second new item deals with the clause on responsibility for violating legislation on elections. It is intended to call to account not only those who have publicized or otherwise spread deliberate lies about a candidate for deputy, but also those who have called or agitated for boycotting elections.

There are other emendations not to be encountered in union legislation or the constitutions of fellow republics. Whether they remain in the proposed version or will be changed depends on the electors.

Ukrainian Supplies Committee Chief Appointed

PM0808132389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 1

[Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Appointment of Comrade A.K. Minchenko as chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

Comrade Anatoliy Kalenikovich Minchenko be appointed chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies. [Signed] V. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
N. Khomenko, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
[Dated] Kiev, 13 July 1989.

Vorotnikov Interviewed on Russian Autonomy

PM1408094189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed interview with V.I. Vorotnikov (member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium): "Regarding Equality of Rights and Duties. V.I. Vorotnikov's Answers to Questions From the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Office"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Vitaliy Ivanovich, the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has just finished. What do you regard as its main significance regarding the development of the processes of democratization of our society and glasnost in state and public affairs?

[Vorotnikov] I think it pertinent to stress the following points. First, it is only natural that the process of democratization of our entire society taking place in our country was visible in the Supreme Soviet's work. And although assimilation of the new ways of discussing and solving questions of state life is as yet proceeding with difficulty, it is gathering momentum and discussion is becoming increasingly meaningful and purposeful. Attention is increasingly being focused on key questions connected with perestroyka. One cannot help noticing that as soon as the Supreme Soviet started examining laws and amendments to them and ratifying decrees and turned to specific troubling questions of everyday life, discussion became more rigorous, businesslike, and responsible, did it not? Delegates began approaching apparently ordinary problems in a more attentive and profound way. Questions which were not initially included on the agenda, including pension provision and amendments to the Law on the State Enterprise, were also examined. In other words, the session worked more creatively and effectively in its final stage.

But there were other things, too. Clearly, inadequate experience of work within the new Supreme Soviet sometimes led, particularly at the start, to manifestly lengthy discussion of quite simple problems, and valuable time was lost in unnecessary verbal sparring. A desire to tackle questions from the standpoint of the situation obtaining in a particular geographical location rather than from a statewide stance was often perceptible. The inertia of parochialism was markedly apparent in the speeches of some deputies.

Of course, these cases cannot be assessed unambiguously. After all, such an approach did generally reflect disquiet and concern regarding the state of affairs in the region or sector in question. And yet it is essential to see from the Supreme Soviet rostrum not just particular details but statewide problems, too.

In short, we were all able to see for ourselves once again that the processes of democratization and glasnost are having a benficial effect on society's life wherever pluralism of opinions and the confrontation and struggle between them are constructive in content and are aimed at strengthening political stability and the people's unity.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Enhancing the sovereignty of union republics, including the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], and increasing their economic autonomy now figure among the most keen and controversial topics. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's readers show enormous interest in this problem. They would like to know your standpoint on this question.

[Vorotnikov] Strengthening the sovereignty of union republics and increasing their economic autonomy on the basis of full economic accountability is an urgent question brought up by life itself. And if it is described as controversial, it is not because it engenders doubts but because it is bound up with a mass of specific problems which have to be discussed and which concern the procedure, norms, and forms of relations among union republics. The main thing here is to ensure the strengthening of each republic and the entire union as a whole.

We in the RSFSR are naturally aware of the criticisms leveled at our republic. It is the case that shortcomings in the country are, so to speak, directly bound up with the state of affairs in the RSFSR. We are aware that the RSFSR contributes a large share to the unionwide economy and that we bear increased responsibility to the people. But it would clearly be wrong to play down the role and thereby the responsibility of all the other republics.

The RSFSR public today is acutely conscious of the fact that its contribution to the common cause is unconditionally bound up with concern for solving its own problems, consolidating its economic and political structures, and strengthening its economic potential. It should be said that these questions have been repeatedly raised by the republic leadership and discussed at top party and state level. We have pursued a persistent line of strengthening autonomy and sovereignty as part of a unified union state. At the present time an unambiguous opinion has emerged on this question and it has been recognized that the same managerial structures should exist here as in the other union republics. This process has been started. Union general construction ministries have been transferred to republic jurisdiction. We consider it essential to create an integrated system for the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply within the RSFSR. It is important that the Communists of RSFSR party organizations concert their efforts, that republic organizations of the Leninist Communist Youth League and trade unions work properly, and that an RSFSR Academy of Sciences and ramified republic mass media be created. It is necessary to complete the structure of law-enforcement organs, if one may put it that way, in other words, to form a republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. There are other questions that also bear consideration.

We are now approaching the practical implementation of these ideas, which, we hope, will be supported at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on interethnic relations and by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

I will stress once again: By building up the Russian muscle of our state we are helping to strengthen the whole union and harmonize relations among all its republics and peoples.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Some specialists express the fear that with regional economic accountability the RSFSR will find itself in a disadvantageous economic position. The arguments are that our republic more than the others supplies the state with raw resources, and, moreover, at prices which are out of line with expenditure, and that the processing sectors are underdeveloped. "Specialization in raw materials" and imperfections in pricing could seriously retard Russia's economic development. What do you have to say on this score?

[Vorotnikov] The specialists you refer to would certainly be right if we announced the transfer of the whole republic to economic accountability today without changing anything or making any preparations for it. But that is not the way things stand. Republic economic accountability is, if you wish, the top rung crowning the ladder of economically accountable relations in the economy. But the first and basic rung is, I would like to specially stress, full economic accountability at the enterprises. The main thing now is to properly establish that rung. Then we can ascend to the second rung—economic accountability at the level of the oblast, krays, and autonomous republics.

This work is in full swing: The Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, other economic departments of the republic, the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and soviet executive committees have been actively engaged in this for more than a year in conjunction with party committees. Scientific centers in Siberia, the Urals, and Leningrad and Moscow institutes are extensively involved in this work. The development of the principles and mechanism for territorial economic accountability in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and Moscow, in particular, is being completed in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers resolution. A concept of regional economic accountability in Leningrad which envisages the inclusion of a number of neighboring oblasts within the Leningrad region in the interests of a balanced economy has been drawn up. It is proposed to switch these territories to the new forms of economic management as early as 1990.

They will be followed by Kemerovo Oblast, whose concept includes the introduction of share ownership at the regional level on the basis of leasing state property or transferring it to the ownership of a share-owning lessee.

We are also working on the economic accountability of the republic as a whole, but that work still needs some time. It is a question here not just of coordinating relations among territories in the light of the transfer of each to economic accountability but also of solving general economic problems, including those which take account of the interconnectedness of the economy of the RSFSR and the other union republics.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Is a change of policy in the sphere of prices envisaged in this regard?

[Vorotnikov] It is clear that the fact that all republics will build their economic relations on a strictly economic basis in the light of relevant expenditure demands a substantial review of pricing and taxation policy. Naturally, no economic accountability will stay the course if product prices do not cover production costs. Moreover, today, when we are seeking to tie the economy in with the world market, the prices of that market should be taken into account in relations inside the USSR.

The equal development of union republics and their economies—particularly during the transfer to principles of economic accountability—presupposes moreover the creation of appropriate compensatory mechanisms. Subsidy, grant, rent [rentnyy], price, and credit mechanisms have to come into play.

In our view, general questions concerning the sources of income for the union republic state budget should be studied most carefully. Production capital payments and a tax on the profits of enterprises under republic and local jurisdiction should be included here. Plus the payment for land, water, and labor resources made by enterprises of union, republic, and local jurisdiction. And deductions from production capital payments and part of the tax levied on the profits of enterprises under union jurisdiction. And much else.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] As the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and local soviet elections draw closer, the editorial office is receiving more and more letters from readers asking on what system these elections will be held and whether the principle whereby some deputies are elected from public organizations will be retained.

[Vorotnikov] A draft Law on Elections to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and Local Soviets will be published very soon. It has been carefully prepared with the participation of specialists, has been repeatedly examined by many local soviets, which gave their thoughts on the draft, and has been discussed in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The draft law envisages that the elected people's deputies of the republic will hold their own congress, which will form a bicameral Supreme Soviet. It is proposed that public organizations be entitled to nominate candidate deputies, but that they will be elected on a common basis by territorial okrugs. There are other new features. We hope that discussion of the draft will make it possible to refine our positions on all questions relating to the elections and that the fall session of the Supreme Soviet will be able to examine quite a well thought-out law.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] At the Congress of People's Deputies and at the USSR Supreme Soviet session the idea was repeatedly expressed that the status of autonomous republics needs refinement. How do you regard this?

[Vorotnikov] The question of refining the status of autonomous republics and expanding their rights is not a new question. Indeed, the potential of autonomous republics has grown considerably and they need more extensive powers if they are to utilize it more effectively. These republics should have the right to solve on their own many of the questions of socioeconomic, cultural, and political life which now fall within the RSFSR's competence. Some proposals on this score are already contained in the draft Law on Elections. We intend, together with the autonomous republic supreme soviets, to draw up a number of laws reflecting urgent questions concerning their development.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Some USSR people's deputies representing autononomous okrugs and oblasts are now raising the question of withdrawing their okrugs and oblasts from the krays. The argument runs as follows: "Our leaders can decide nothing without the knowledge and agreement of the kray authorities." Is it possible that there will be some kind of redistribution of authoritative powers here or is the problem due to the passive position adopted by the leaders of autonomous formations?

[Vorotnikov] It is hardly correct to reduce the matter solely to activeness (or lack of activeness) on the part of the leaders. If you are going to raise the question of revising authoritative powers, your starting point has to be what structure of relations will promote the vital development of the relevant autonomous formations. It is perfectly logical, in my opinion, to consider autonomous oblasts—where this is necessary and where they want it—withdrawing from krays and becoming directly subordinate to the republic leadership. But clearly this question, if raised, should be tackled in every case in the light of the specific circumstances obtaining. After all, some autonomous formations are so firmly knitted to the relevant krays and oblasts that their constitution as an autonomous unit could be an artificial and, moreover, painful business when it becomes necessary to apply the knife, as it were.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet will be elected in a few months. How, in your opinion, should the principles of its work be changed and what are the paramount tasks it should tackle? The voters are interested in the procedure for the upcoming elections and the kind of new rights and obligations that the local soviet deputies will be invested with.

[Vorotnikov] Readers will obtain a full answer to that question in the draft Law on Elections, which, as I have already said, will soon be published. I want only to note that it has been worked on pretty thoroughly. It takes account of the experience of the recent elections of USSR people's deputies, with understandable modifications in respect of the specific conditions of the republic. We have adopted tried-and-tested provisions and dropped those which were not borne out by practice. It is now up to the voters, their opinions will help prepare the final text of the law.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] And a final question. A decision to hold extraordinary sessions of soviets at all levels has been taken. What do you expect from these sessions?

[Vorotnikov] Primarily new specific steps toward restructuring their activity. The last session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet was very active and businesslike and enriched parliamentarians' experience of working in the new conditions. I would like all sessions to be of a high standard and for the really urgent, pressing problems which cannot be deferred to be examined in a concrete and self-critical way if we do not want people to take their demands into the streets. Although we do not yet have a Law on Local Self-Government, which will substantially extend the powers of local organs, they already have enough opportunities for more effective activity that will ensure a stable, businesslike atmosphere in society—that is perhaps the soviets' chief task today.

Some people allege that soviets do nothing, that they have become bureaucratized and out of touch with people, and so forth. This obviously is fair comment about certain soviets and to a larger extent specific soviet workers. But we should say that soviets on the whole carry out enormous work. Today they, like all of society, are reconstructing themselves, and it is important that this process be accelerated.

Kemerovo Party Chief Interviewed on Strikes

PM1108094989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo Oblast Party, by "our correspondent" V. Kostyukovskiy under the rubric "Kuzbass: Monitoring Joint Decisions": "Coal 'Generals' Retire"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] As is well known, a protocol has been signed in the Kuzbass on coordinated measures between the regional strike committee (now the Council of Workers' Committees) and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] commission. How is the implementation of the plans proceeding? Our correspondent talks about this with A. Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo Oblast Party Committee [obkom].

[Kostyukovskiy] In reports on the strike the newspaper has already cited your assessments of some aspects of what has happened, Aleksandr Grigoryevich. Perhaps it is appropriate to return to these assessments once more today? I would put the question like this: What is the essence of the July events and why was it in the Kuzbass that they began?

[Melnikov] Of course, it is not only and not so much a matter of the situation at the Mezhdurechensk mine named for Shevyakov, where it all began and which played the role of "detonator." Flagrant indifference had been displayed there toward questions of vital importance to the workers. We still have to draw conclusions. But this was merely a pretext for everything which followed, and the reasons lie deeper.

The Kuzbass is a special place. It began to develop earlier than other eastern regions as a powerful raw material and industrial region. A unique economy took shape here based on heavy industry sectors—the mining and metallurgical industries and later the chemical industry. With a graphically expressed raw material bias, whereby what comes out is most often not a finished product but a semifinished one. Therefore the majority of enterprises were not very profitable or even ran at a loss, living on state subsidies. They were unable to develop comprehensively while the policy of the departments extracting cheap raw material provided no opportunity for ensuring the necessary standard in the social sphere. Industrial development was accompanied by the destruction of the countryside. And in the cities the provision of facilities was according to the village system: an enterprise with a small workers' settlement, badly appointed, without municipal amenities, and for a time this did not generate such a sharp attitude, it seemed to many people that this had been the custom for centuries.

But the party's line toward perestroyka, toward the economy's shift toward man and his needs and interests, ardently welcomed among the people, came up against this lag of many years. The result was that documents said one thing while something quite different was the case. The aims were proclaimed but their implementation is being delayed, after all we shall be frank: We have been unable to destroy the administrative-edict system of management and in general there is little that is new in the economic field. So that the essence of the recent strikes, it seems to me, is as follows: The workers were expressing their attitude toward the slow progress of perestroyka, toward the incomplete, halfhearted nature of the measures which are being taken, toward the delay in the execution of decisions, and toward the gap between word and deed.

[Kostyukovskiy] Here they were realists. After all, their demands discussed not simply allocating additional funds and resources. The protocol's main points are indeed of a reformist nature....

[Melnikov] Their point is as follows: Give us the opportunity to work effectively and independently so we can earn a good wage and live comfortably. That means we have nonetheless over these years been able to bring to people the roots of our economic and political problems and have shown the way out of stagnation. The workers know that the main thing is economic accountability [khozraschet] and that it is possible only given the complete economic autonomy of enterprises and labor collectives. Through this there appears an opportunity to strengthen the material base of the soviets, that is to invest them with real power, and with the aid of the people's power to resolve our social problems. It is notable that all this fully accords with the line steered by the party. But the administrative system is a wall on the path of the implementation of this policy. It is no accident that the main purpose of the protocol on coordinated measures is the destruction of this wall.

[Kostyukovskiy] I have observed the process of the work of the party and government commission and the strike committee on the protocol. And you know I had the feeling that it was not so much a search for compromises between the "contracting parties" which was under way as the elaboration of long-term paths by likeminded people.

[Melnikov] Yes, we proceeded from supreme principles, which were common ones. There was the search for mutual relations between the center and the territory represented by the working class. And another feature of this work: You recall that the complex document, important not only to the miners and the Kuzbass but also to the whole country, was elaborated in 2 nights and 1 day. And so far we cannot find in it any "sign of haste" or anything unconsidered or unfeasible. On the contrary, I think its importance is even growing. I know from experience that approximately a year used to be spent on elaborating decisions of this kind and the document often turned out to be "not right." What is happening here? What is happening is that our agreements are taken from life. And it used to be the case that life would painstakingly filter them out [sentence as published].

[Kostyukovskiy] How would you assess the present-day situation in the oblast?

[Melnikov] First of all I would note the unprecedented growth, even the take-off of political activeness among people, among those who are called the "rank and file." And not only workers. Technicians, engineers, scientists, and intellectuals, too. But first of all, nonetheless, the workers. If we are speaking of the working rhythm, so far it is not normal, many production difficulties remain, there are sectors where discipline has simply become slack. Social tension has not diminished and has perhaps even increased: People are ceasing to tolerate a slow reaction to their requests on the part of the economic and soviet organs. Intolerance of shortcomings is being manifested acutely. We are dealing with a new, unprecedented level of control, both demanding and strict. The reason for the present conflicts is this level's nonaccordance with the leaders' old, habitual work methods. People are extremely angered by inefficiency. You only have to take the situation with regard to the Krapivinskiy hydraulic power system described in your newspaper: The solution of the question only had to be deferred a day or two and delayed to cause the eruption that was the 2-hour warning strike at a number of enterprises. There is one conclusion: You must respect your own decisions and the government's decisions.

I was gravely affected by the recent bureau sitting at which we expelled L. Cherentsov, chief of the hydraulic power system construction administration, from the party. But we could not act otherwise and by no means because we had to "oblige" the strikers at any cost. He was an experienced leader but he understood nothing and failed to draw the conclusions which a Communist must draw. Did he know of the government decision to halt the construction? Undoubtedly. But here was his position: "I am not supposed to know it, I need an order from my association...."

The situation today is such that strikes in some forms are not ruled out. Our common task, including that of the council of workers committees of the Kuzbass is to prevent them. And that can only be done by one means: unswervingly fulfilling the protocol on the coordinated measures while precisely observing the cited deadlines and carefully preserving the spirit and letter of the document. And this must be done under conditions of full glasnost.

[Kostyukovskiy] I would like to know about the process of its implementation.

[Melnikov] The oblast newspaper has just published the government and AUCCTU resolution on introducing unified scales for the rayon coefficient. In that sense the government is keeping its word, as on many other questions. Together with oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] workers, economic scientists are preparing proposals for switching to regional economic accountability. From my viewpoint the proposals are interesting and in many respects new not only for us but also for the entire country. The oblast soviet session adopted a whole series of resolutions: to step up economic responsibility for observing ecological requirements, on measures to protect forests and increase the stability of the water balance, on putting in order the activity of the cooperatives and prices at the markets, on changing the norms for registered and supplied housing, and so forth. The party obkom bureau has decided to put right the violations in social justice. Several buildings occupied by the party committees are being transferred to the local soviets for citizens' social needs.

[Kostyukovskiy] But what about economic autonomy, the main promise from the Ministry of the Coal Industry? In recent days we have heard it said that the mines have been given autonomy. Yet it has so far only been declared.

[Melnikov] Yes, this is far more complex. Autonomy is possible only with a change to the structure of the sector's management. And we have fears that a change for the worse is being prepared. Holding a telephone conference recently, Minister M. Shchadov announced that a government resolution is abolishing the "Kuzbassugol" main territorial administration....

[Kostyukovskiy] That's good! A superfluous management link is being eliminated, is that not what the miners were fighting for?

[Melnikov] It is not the right link which is being eliminated, that's the trouble. Take a look, the protocol on coordinated measures clearly states: "The USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry must reorganize existing amalgamations [obedineniya] into various associations [assotsiatsii] and other voluntary forms of organizing management. I stress—amalgamations! But what does the elimination of the main territorial administration do? Essentially it disavows the first two very important points of the protocol—on regional economic accountability and on enterprises' independence. Let me explain. Right now it is the amalgamations which are the links which pursue locally the department's policy which the miners have called "predatory." For some time the main territorial administration has been not a managerial but a coordinating organ. In addition it is right now that it has begun preparation for the regional management of the sector, which in fact accords with the principles of economic accountability for the territory. It is this link which should help the mines and pits begin an independent life. Finally, in the near future it is designed to become as it were a council, the coordinating organ of the mining cities' associations—not only for miners but also for the sector's construction workers, machine builders, and scientists.

The abolition of the main territorial administration (incidentally, this is the ministry's sixth attempt in 18 months to abolish it) in practice, under the conditions of the sector's specific features, leads to the impossibility of reorganizing the amalgamations. On the contrary, matters are even advancing toward the intensification of their role as the department's "deputies." Remember the talk which arose immediately after the protocol had been adopted: Our enterprises are not yet ready for independent existence, it was said, it is more advantageous for us to work within the framework of amalgamations. I will say with full responsibility that this is not the voice of the workers.

The worker has nothing to lose here, the nature of his work will remain the same. On the other hand, there must be a drastic change in the standard, principles, and methods of managerial activity. Now we can no longer issue edicts and orders, collect millions, and "graciously" bestow rubles. Now we have to be in a spin, to be enterprising, and know how to earn money. And how to convince the worker. You cannot issue an order to a free master, you can only persuade him. And that is what our leaders do not know how to do and do not want to do, here they are at one with the ministry which is trying by every means to preserve its power and to command every mine, every Kuzbass city from Moscow. I want to stress in particular that the Ministry of the Coal Industry, in trying to push through this decision, as always has not only failed to consider but has not even consulted with the territory. Have the July events really taught Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov nothing? Incidentally, a detail of some importance: The numerical strength of the amalgamations' apparatus is about 1,600 people while just 120 people work in the main territorial administration....

All the "cunning" of the outwardly logical decision to abolish the main territorial administration is all too obvious and to be frank I am afraid that it may cause a new wave of miners' displeasure. The recent events showed that the workers are literate, knowledgeable people who are well able to see the true roots of any question.

[Kostyukovskiy] You said "issue edicts and orders" and I remembered that it is customary to call the coal amalgamation general directors "generals" for short....

[Kostyukovskiy] It is not just a question of brevity, it is the entire thrust of their activity. It is time the ministry understood that the time of the "generals" in the economy is passing. It is the time of managers, coordinators, economists, chairmen, presidents—there are many variations here. The time of leaders put forward by the labor collectives, nominated by them, invested with their trust, and accountable to them.

Alma-Ata First Secretary Baykenov Elected

LD2308085889 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] An organizational matter was examined at a plenum of the Alma-Ata City Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party which was held today [22 August]. Its secretariat was reelected. Comrade Romanov was released from his duties as first secretary, and Comrade Omarov was released from his duties as second secretary of the city party committee, in connection with their confirmation as senior organizers in the CPSU Central Committee. Comrade (Fumyzov) was released from his post as secretary of the City Party Committee, as he has been confirmed as department head in the Alma-Ata Oblast Party Committee.

The plenum elected Comrade Baykenov, who was working as deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, as first secretary of the Alma-Ata City Party Committee. On an alternative basis, Comrade (Krapunov) was elected second secretary of the city party committee, and Comrade Sarsenov as secretary.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were Comrade Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, and Comrade Tyulebekov, first secretary of the Alma-Ata Oblast Party Committee.

Paper Warns of Onslaught of 'New Bureaucracy'

PM1108084089 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[A. Mursaliyev article under new rubric: "The Nationalities Question": first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] No one now disputes that the nationalities question is one of the most urgent and pressing on the agenda. The problems accumulated over long decades. Today the nationalities question means not only problems of language and history, culture and ecology, disputed borders, and resettled peoples. The nationalities question has begun to be associated with Nagorno-Karabakh, Fergana, Novyy Uzen, and Abkhaziya. Today it means human dramas, tragedies, blood, grief, burned houses, and hundreds of thousands of homeless people.

On the threshold of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations, we are beginning the publication of articles under the rubric "The Nationalities Question," in which we will try to examine the problem from various aspects: social, economic, historical, culturological, and so forth.

Nagorno-Karabakh, Fergana, Abkhaziya

The country is shaken by interethnic clashes like bouts of a disease. Increasingly frequently and increasingly terribly. The scale of the internecine clashes is increasing frighteningly, and the number of victims is growing. But, unnatural as it may seem, the majority of us are not even surprised any more. In fact, we are beginning to get used to it.

Clashes and conflicts follow one after another, and the reports from various regions of the country are reminiscent of dispatches from a theater of war. Judge for yourself: Each conflict ends with the banishment of a particular people and the emergence of a state of ethnic alienation and distrust, an atmosphere of suspicion and fear.

Many times you and I have read: After a certain time, the organizers and inspirers of these essentially antipopular acts will be named. Time passes, competent commissions with emergency powers are set up, yet we still cannot look into the faces of those who are behind the perpetrators of pogroms. Where are the organs of enforcement of law and order and state security, which only recently showed such might in uprooting every shoot of dissidence and which saw a threat to our foundations in a slim volume by an emigre writer? Today, it is not literature that people collect under cover of night, but dumps of weapons and explosives....

We must at last pluck up our courage and admit: It is no longer merely a question of a deterioration in interethnic relations. The state is today incapable of ensuring the security of all its citizens. The 18th century French enlightenment writers observed: The state arises as a result of a contract between the citizens and the powers. One side pledges to observe the laws and maintain the state institutions, the other to guarantee the rights of the first.

I remember conversations with Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia and Armenian refugees who were leaving Azerbaijan. "The state is collapsing," they said with one voice. "When it existed, we lived peacefully." And I remember another conversation at an apartment exchange "bureau" that sprang up in Baku last year. Armenians and Azerbaijanis who were forced to leave their homes unanimously blamed everything on the leaders, perestroyka, and glasnost. And I find it very difficult to talk with my neighbor, an elderly man who experienced the war. "You all abuse Stalin," he says every time we meet. "You accuse him of repressions and cruelty. You say all that is against the law. Maybe. I don't know. But what is happening now? Tell me, what difference does it make to someone who is killed or exiled whether he suffered as an enemy of the people, or an enemy of the nation? You say Stalin exiled entire peoples? Well, now they simply drive them out."

Nostalgia for a firm hand. Behind this lies historical forgetfulness, which means the threat of a return to that former life. Which the country is trying, with such jolts and such great intensity of efforts, to break away from.

But perhaps this is in fact a preplanned result? And in that case, it is only natural to ask: Is it a question of nationalism? Are we in fact dealing with exclusively national conflicts?

Let us look at the arguments put forward by those who advocate Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's secession from Azerbaijan. Most recently, these arguments were listed in some detail by B.V. Dadamyan, USSR people's deputy from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in his speech at the congress. Most of them are economic and social problems, which are fairly characteristic of the vast majority of regions of the country. And they are no less acute in Azerbaijan as a whole than in the oblast. I will dwell only on two points in the indictment which are of a patently national nature.

First point: The Azerbaijanis pass off Armenian cultural monuments in Nagorno-Karabakh as Albanian (that is, their own). Second point: The Azerbaijanis are...destroying these monuments. Where is the logic in that? Why would they destroy what is their own?

In my view, this is a unifying feature, not a dividing feature. If two peoples regard one and the same monument as their own (and in Transcaucasia there are many of these, and furthermore there are well-known holy places that are equally sacred both to Muslim believers and to Christian believers), what is wrong with that? You would think that in this situation it would be more appropriate to call for joint work to safeguard and restore the monuments.

Well, fine, let us assume the existence here of some kind of "Azerbaijani nationalist plot" that is not susceptible to normal human logic....

But in that case, of what nationality were the nationalists who started a stone quarry in the Gobustan historical and cultural conservation area, which is only 20 km from Baku? Who all but destroyed the unique rock paintings here, which date from the 8th millenium BC? Who destroyed the old Baku-Icheri shekher [meaning unknown]? Who banned the people's festival of spring—Novruz? The Russians, maybe? I am sorry to say that as a lad of 17 I listened sympathetically to talk of how Russia's colonial policy with regard to Azerbaijan has remained unchanged and how Russia and the Russians plunder and oppress Azerbaijan. But soon, on going to Russia and seeing Russian villages for the first time—impoverished, collapsing, dying—I was shocked, and wondered: Who, what nation, is oppressing Russia and the Russians? Who is destroying Orthodox churches? Igor Muradyan, one of the leaders of the Karabakh movement, having collected, as he puts it, instances of the suppression of Armenians' rights in Azerbaijan, has drawn up a 70-page list. There are lists of the suppression of Azerbaijanis' rights in Armenia, I saw them in Baku. I will not dispute all these cases, but I can state quite clearly: I could compile even longer lists of instances of the suppression of Azerbaijanis' rights in Azerbaijan and Armenians' rights in Armenia. It is not difficult. I only have to call up the archives, and look at the letters sent to the editorial office from those republics over the last 10 years.

And is the editorial mail from other republics and oblasts completely cloudless?

All of us, all the peoples of our country, were oppressed equally mercilessly by bureaucratic nationalism. This is its legacy—a mass of social, economic, and cultural problems with a thick veneer of "national" coloring. I want to make myself quite clear. I do not by any means deny the existence of properly national problems, the growth of national self-awareness, and the nationality factor as such. But all this has little to do with what has been happening in our country in recent years. The nationalities aspect is the packaging, the pretext, rather than the reason.

It is the social factor that can be perceived extremely clearly in all interethnic clashes. Everywhere, in every region where these clashes have taken place, social tension has reached a critical point, the atmosphere has become overheated, and dissatisfaction with corrupt bosses, extortion, and injustice have increased. But a dose of nationalism was injected into this saturated solution in good time, and rapid crystallization ensued. "Identify targets for hatred," Goebbels, the undisputed authority in this sphere, advised.

So they identified them. Who is to blame? The foreigner! And the explosion becomes cumulative, targeted, blind, and controllable (!)

I leaf through last year's notebooks. Stepanakert. Beginning of March. A conversation with "Krunk" members: "Throughout the demonstrations not a single violation of the law was recorded. Even theft stopped. That is unanimity." A terrifying kind of unanimity! The unanimity of the thief and the honest man. The bribe-taking director and the worker who can barely make ends meet. The trade speculator and the intellectual.

Later the same unanimity was observed in Baku, too. The "Armenian threat" rallies Azerbaijanis, the "Azerbaijani threat" rallies Armenians. What do your own bribe-takers and embezzlers matter, in the face of the "external enemy"? We lean on one another and push one another to the right, into the most conservative positions. The democratic movement in the country is increasingly taking on national colors, adopting national forms, and threatening to turn into national democratism. Where will this lead? Mankind has already witnessed the sad experience of the coming to power of national socialists in Germany in 1933....

Democracy cannot be national. It is either for everyone, regardless of national affiliation, or it does not exist at all.

Would there have been demonstrations, rallies, and strikes if the nationalities card had not been played? Yes, probably. But I am sure people would have demanded the restoration of social justice, not the separation of territories or the abolition of autonomous formations. Sometimes I think that the people in the squares in Baku, Yerevan, and Stepanakert are allies manque (of course, I am not talking about narrow-minded nationalists). After all, if you exclude the national and nationalist slogans, the remaining demands of Azerbaijani demonstrators and Armenian demonstrators are remarkably similar. But now the tight noose of the "fifth column" around the throat is choking them and pulling them in different directions. "Us" and "them."

"Us and them." This expression has, alas, been very useful in the 18 months since the start of events in Nagorno-Karabakh. At the very height of the events, in the spring of last year, an article under that heading was published in the Azerbaijani republican newspaper ADABIYAT VE INDJESENET. The author clearly highlighted the main points, gave a detailed analysis of the situation and the likely outcome, and demonstrated who benefits from the conflict and where it is leading. True, the article was written 70 years ago, by Nariman Narimanov—a revolutionary and head of the first soviet government in Azerbaijan. And that is where the juxtaposition in the headline comes from: "We" are the workers, the people, and "they" are the bourgeoisie, the nationalists. A clear division along class lines.

Then and much later, nationalism has been identified with the bourgeoisie. The concept of "nationalism" is inseparably intertwined with the term "bourgeois" in our consciousness. And the counterweight to it is "socialist, proletarian internationalism." But how do you define what we are up against today? "Socialist nationalism"? There are representatives of the proletariat in the ranks of the nationalists, whereas the bourgeoisie ceased to exist as a class in our country 70 years ago. But is that true?

Let us remember the simple Marxist truth that classes are defined not by the entry on a questionnaire in the column about social origin and social affiliation, but by one's attitude to the means of production. And if we proceed from this premise, we will find that an entire class has formed in our society. These are the people we denote, not entirely accurately, by the term "bureaucracy." They are the corrupt section of the bureaucracy, who control huge financial resources and still have their hands on the levers of power. They are those who come out against economic accountability, because its light will destroy the shadow economy created by their efforts. They are those who are afraid of free elections, which undermine their power; those who do not like the people's increasingly rigorous monitoring of their activity. They too have restructured themselves. Yes, restructured: They have closed ranks and become a terrible force opposing the democratization of society. Indeed, they were the first to restructure.

I suspect that what they seek is not a return to the days of stagnation, but a new, total, and unconditional power. But why was it so easy for them to involve hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their adventure? To deceive and mislead them? I think the reasons should be sought in the country's recent past. It is all explained by the people's lack of political experience. Indeed, politics itself did not exist as such in our country for many years. Hence Soviet people's political "innocence," unsophistication. This, too, is a time bomb.

We, the country, the people, were like children under a billiard table. The game was going on above our heads, but we could not even imagine what kind of a game it is, who is playing, or by what rules. When at last, after April 1985, we began to emerge from under the table, it transpired that we do not know how to play, we do not know the rules, we lack the skills. Meanwhile the hardened players are sending ball after ball into the pockets....

First ball. Alma-Ata. A clean blow of the cue, and the shocked inhabitant of the Land of the Soviets discovers that conflicts and clashes on the basis of nationality are possible in our country. Have people gotten used to that idea? Then here is a doublet: Nagorno-Karabakh, Askeran and—Sumgait. The army in the city. A curfew. Have you recovered from the shock? Nagorno-Karabakh again. September 1988. Special situation and curfew for the whole oblast. November. The Baku rally lasting many days. The November events in Armenia. Special situation and curfew in two republics, virtually. The army on the streets of the cities. On the one hand, this accustoms the population to the idea that only a firm hand can impose order and save the country from anarchy, on the other, it prevents the production of a more stunning, shocking effect by stopping the bloodshed and averting mass clashes.

And suddenly, a change of pace: Tbilisi, 9 April. Now voices can be heard protesting the use of the army and its investment with policing functions. A number of deputies raise the question firmly at the Congress. And...like a bolt from the blue, Fergana. Under pressure from the "Tbilisi syndrome," the army is forced into inactivity. And the militia is incapable of putting out the fire. Before you know where you are—more blows: Novyy Uzen, Nagorno-Karabakh again, and Abkhaziya.

Where will the next flareup be? I do not know. I only know that the balls will go on flying into the pockets until the surrender of hard-won democracy—until such time as you, fellow citizens, demand "more resolute" measures: the imposition of a state of emergency in the country, the formation of a committee of salvation (of the country, the people, and perhaps perestroyka), and so forth. That is, the complete handover of power to the new bureaucracy. After which they will send us back under the table.

Nostalgia for a firm hand, demands for the imposition of "order"—are you not familiar with all this, fellow citizens?

The same has happened before in our country, and more than once. It happened in 1927-1928, when as a result of the famine that gripped a peasant country Stalin and Stalinism finally seized absolute power in the country. Did that improve matters? The famine of the early thirties took millions of lives, and the countryside has yet to recover from the blow inflicted on it. It happened in 1953, when criminals released from the camps on Beria's orders spread panic and prepared the ground for the next dictatorship. It happened in 1962-1964, when the food crisis engineered by the bureaucracy halted the reforms. After that, virtually the entire country went over to a system of food rationing.

All this happened, and each time it resulted in tragedy for the country.

It is repeating itself today. Pogrom after pogrom, explosion after explosion. Soap and washing powder suddenly disappear. Interruptions in supplies of food products, salt, matches.... It is on a grand scale, but the handwriting is the same.

The last thing I want is for people to read in what I have written a call to seek out the "enemies of perestroyka" and deal with them. Although I recognize that this is the simplest and most accessible conclusion for our black-and-white view of the world, things are not quite that hopeless. Democratic transformations in the country are increasing in scale: the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet it elected, the appearance of an opposition in our country for the first time in long decades, changes in the economy, the emergence of new structures and institutions in society's economic and political life—all these are encouraging factors capable of halting the onslaught of the "new bureaucracy."

Democracy can be approached by only one path—the democratic path. We, when we are together, are stronger than them. But we must learn to identify class and group interests in various actions, appeals, slogans, and demands. We must demand from the state precise and strict compliance with its duties and the defense of the rights of all (all, without exception) citizens of the country. We should be against violence and bloodshed.

You may object: Perestroyka is a revolution, and in a revolution violence and bloodshed are inevitable. I recognize that you cannot wash the dirt out of your house without getting dirty yourself. But let us not forget that we have already tried to build a bright future on blood...

Kryuchkov Describes Efforts Against Rising Crime

LD2308173689 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Criminal operations of smugglers and speculators in foreign currency is on the rise in the Soviet Union in the recent past. Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, said in an interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA. He said that customs officials annually register over 22,000 detentions, as a result of which some 10 million roubles worth of antiques, historical, artistic values and hard currency are seized. There is a considerable increase in the outflow of Soviet banknotes abroad. According to information of specialists, billions of roubles are now used abroad in illegal financial operations. There is a surge in the number of cases when foreign-made narcotics are illegally brought to the USSR and large hauls of narcotics are shipped via the Soviet Union.

In the opinion of Kryuchkov, reasons for the growth in crime are diverse in the USSR. This can be attributed, above all, to the aggravating economic situation in the country, a shortage of goods, imperfect mechanism of pricing, disbalance in the quality and prices for consumer goods in the USSR and abroad and growth in property differentiation and unsatisfied demand of population.

The chairman cited data on the committee's participation in stepping up the struggle against smuggling and illegal currency operations. In the past five years over 1,500 people, including 70 foreigners, were called to account for criminal cases conducted by investigative units of the committee. The state treasury received over 42 million roubles worth of Soviet and foreign currencies, precious metals and stones, antiques, fine art and cultural values. Over 12 tonnes of narcotics were seized. Security officers, along with border guards, foiled attempts to import arms, ammunition, explosives and poisons in the USSR. Security and Interior Ministry officers wiped out, this year alone, several organised criminal groups, including in the cities of Donetsk and Kirovograd. Three big groups of smugglers who had direct contacts with the foreign mafia, were arrested and are sued in court.

At the same time measures taken are insufficient and do not meet sometimes imperatives of our times. Therefore, several organisational and personnel measures were carried out, material and technical supplies of several units of the state committee improved, and special subunits in some of them were set up to combat smugglers and speculators in foreign currency. Cooperation with law enforcement services of foreign countries is improving to step up jointly the struggle against this evil.

Minister Bakatin Assesses Anti-Crime Resolution

18001529 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with V.V. Bakatin, internal affairs minister of the USSR, by N. Demidov, TASS correspondent, special for TRUD, under the headline "Without Retreating From the Law"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **The Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a resolution "To Decisively Strengthen the Struggle Against Crime." The Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR V.V. Bakatin comments on the underlying features of this document.**

[Demidov] Vadim Viktorovich, what brought forth this resolution?

[Bakatin] It is a completely natural reaction of our highest legislative body, fully corresponding to the mood of the populace, in view of the sharp increase in crime, including the organized variety. The radical change in circumstances requires taking unpostponable measures on the part of the Soviet Government. We are talking simply about its authority, realistic defense of human rights, and interests of the individual, society, and the state. This document is a sort of guide to action, primarily for internal affairs organs. At last we must apply the full force of the law. For the time being, public safety workers, out of a misunderstanding of priorities of the humanization of criminal law, rather often fail to do so.

[Demidov] Can one confirm that the resolution presupposes taking extraordinary measures?

[Bakatin] If one considers the raising of our operational status to the maximum and the completeness of our response to each lawless act as extraordinary, then—yes. If we regard it as a change in principles, retreat from previously accepted policies, or some kind of a turn as being extraordinary, then—no. One must rapidly and decisively quench explosive violence, rein-in arrogant criminals who count on a weakening of discipline among the public safety and law-and-order forces.

These measures exclude other considerations only in cases of utter necessity to sharply raise the sagging vigor of law-and-order work. Decisive, energetic, and immediate actions with the help and support of the people are needed. It is thus provided for in the resolution.

[Demidov] Examples are known where intensified taking of extraordinary measures has led to mass actions leading to breaking the law.

[Bakatin] As I said, an emergency is not lawlessness, is not a retreat from perestroyka, or from the concept of forming a rule-of-law state. On the contrary, the sooner we can put down the crime wave and stabilize the situation, the easier it will be to build it. In the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR it is emphasized that the work of the temporary committees for the struggle against crime be based on abiding by the law, strictest observance of the constitution, widest and universal reliance on workers, the population, and the Soviet public.

This, surely, is the most important task of the temporary committees. Here they can do much. Furthermore, nobody tries to usurp the coordinating functions of the procuracy, so they remain secure. However, today systematic, practical daily work to widen channels and provide solutions to various problems of the law-and-order professionals is much more important. It is especially important not to permit this actual, needed work to degenerate to pure talk.

[Demidov] What do you see as the main significance of the resolution?

[Bakatin] First of all it is a political program document. Its meaning, from my viewpoint, is summed up as follows: It is time to start working energetically! It is time to stop endless complaints about objective and subjective difficulties! They are known to all, one has to work on them, nobody except ourselves will remove them. But we cannot lose time. A democracy can and must defend itself from ugly, disorganizing manifestations of anarchy and extremism, threats to public peace and safety, honor, dignity, lives, and health of the citizens, as well as social interests. This resolution, I believe, strengthened the obvious. The fight against crime must be conducted by the entire society coordinated by the efforts of all governmental and public institutions. The soviets must head and organize it as a form of peoples' self-rule.

[Demidov] It is noted in the resolution that it is absolutely necessary in the nearest future to provide for increased criminal penalties for attempts on the life and health of militia workers and other participants in the war against crime. What is "nearest future" and will it happen again that questions of the defense of rights will again drop to second priority?

[Bakatin] No, this will not happen. It has to be done, and corresponding suggestions have already been made. But I consider that endless discussion of this obvious problem brings us now more harm than good. The present criminal code provides for severe sentences, up to death, for an attempt on the life of a militia worker or a member of a peoples' volunteer detachment. Therefore the matter is more a question of court practice and public opinion. Together with that, expedited publication of the draft law of the USSR "On the Soviet Militia" is important, so the public could discuss it, make comments, think over the public danger of crimes against militia workers. Therefore without it, it is impossible to do the main thing—to protect the citizen from violence, arbitrariness and lawlessness.

[Demidov] How about equipment? Without it the most perfect resolution will not be effective.

[Bakatin] Our equipment is beneath criticism, and in this field we await some material help. The Supreme Soviet gave here some clear and specific instructions. Our recommendations on this subject have been given to the State Planning Commission of the USSR.

Minister Bakatin Interviewed on Crime

LD0908215189 Moscow International Service in Polish 1300 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Interview with USSR Internal Affairs Minister Vadim Bakatin by Moscow Radio correspondent (Oleg Vakulovskiy); date, place of interview not given—recorded interview in Russian followed by Polish translation]

[Excerpts] Soviet society is concerned by the increase in crime in the Soviet Union and that concern is presently being transformed into firm measures against the world of crime, inter alia, organized crime. (Oleg Vakulovskiy), a Radio Moscow correspondent, talked to Vadim Bakatin, the USSR internal affairs minister, on this subject. Several years ago Soviet Television presented to viewers the Italian serial, "Octopus", about the struggle waged by the police with the Mafia in Sicily. At the time Soviet viewers watched it with interest as something exotic and now over the next few days it is repeating the screening of "Octopus" and many people are watching the film with a certain tolerance for the scale of the Italian Mafia's activity, for they have an awareness of data on organized crime in the Soviet Union which has been published. What does the internal affairs minister think when he watches the Italian crime film?

[Begin recording] [Bakatin] It is difficult for me to answer that question as I didn't watch that film before and I'm not watching it now. I quite simply haven't got time for films like that, but I have heard about it as my family has been watching the film with great interest. I know about it. But not so much my attitude to the film, but a comparison of organized Mafia crime in the West with Soviet crime will surely be more interesting, let's say with our native crime.

First I would like to say that the problem of our Internal Affairs Ministry is being reduced to the fact that we still cooperate weakly with police in Western states, and we have very poor knowledge of their experience. At the moment we are only discussing the need to enter Interpol, and the more time passes the more we are convinced of the need for such a step. [Indistinct word] to accept also the experience gatherd for example by the Italian police, who represent high professional values. If one is talking about comparing statistics of recorded crime, then in Italy it is half that of the United States but four times more than in the Soviet Union—in other words from the point of view of that indicator we are in the rear. Here one should also make one reservation: That is that statistics are not perfect and the methods of research are also different. But we don't intend obviously to catch up with other states from the point of view of the crime ratio. With this aim in mind we need to lower now the very quick pace in the development of crime in the Soviet Union

[(Vakulovskiy)] One of the recent important steps in the fight with the world of crime is the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution which anticipates the creation of provisional committees, bringing the forces of the Internal Affairs Ministry, the KGB, the procurator's office, as well as the echelons of the USSR people's deputies together. How does the USSR internal affairs minister see that resolution?

[Bakatin] In my opinion the resolution accepted by the Supreme Soviet is a step without precedence in the history of our highest legislative body. The resolution above all has enormous political significance. The deputies expressed serious concern and gave support to the bodies for the protection of law, which was expressed literally in every line of that document. A particularly important role can be played by those committees in the struggle with organized crime. [passage omitted] Organized crime is developing and taking on new forms. One of the main channels of its activity is the corrupt system of government, including also law protection bodies. As far as I know, Vadim Bakatin said there is no country where police have not avoided corruption. We have also not avoided it in the Soviet Union. There are still people remaining in the USSR who serve organized crime. Our task is to reveal them immediately. Today we need new ways of fighting organized crime. That is why we have created now in the Internal Affairs Ministry an office to fight organized crime, in which the most qualified specialists are going to work, professionals, who know the world of crime well.

[(Vakulovskiy)] Can you not perceive a certain structure in this chain of nationality conflicts, which result in deaths among people and mass incidents? Is there some kind link between the events for example in Alma-Ata in 1986 and the recent conflicts? To what extent is the statement that precisely organized crime is behind these events correct?

[Bakatin] First, I wouldn't look for an analogy and wouldn't detect some kind of system from Alma-Ata to Abkhaziya, Vadim Bakatin replies. Each place has its own scenario and everywhere its own causes, and moreover for many different reasons. On the other hand the question has a certain (?sense), as those events have something in common. In conditions of democratization and openness and the required decentralization, in conditions of increased national consciousness, forces which would wish to destablize the situation, which do not like the restructuring, are starting to take advantage of these nationality conflicts and problems, which objectively existed in the Soviet Union. Before then those problems were kept a secret, hushed up. But speaking generally, Vadim Bakatin emphasized, I would look for the common denominators in the intensification of socioeconomic problems, in the dissatisfaction with social conditions, in the serious difficulties in the demographic sphere. All that happened in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as exceptionally explicitly in Fergana. Difficulties of that kind are in Abkhaziya, that is why one can also so easily transfer (?tensions from the sphere of nationality relations) and particularly if there are forces for whom such provocations are to their advantage, which are prepared to finance them. That could be very clearly seen in Fergana.

[(Vakulovskiy)] Does that mean that you possess some data on this question?

[Bakatin] We are in possession of completely precise information that the world of crime, organized crime, and the second economy, and also representatives of all kinds of clans taking over the right of socialist property, which have not been eliminated entirely here yet and are even developing; all those forces undeniably were interested in these mass incidents. They had an interest in instigating quarrels between the various nationalities, Vadim Bakatin says, and that is also why I consider the question to have been correctly asked. It is just those forces which are behind those incidents which took place. [end recording]

Bakatin Attends Anticrime Meeting 10 Aug

LD1008155989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting devoted to implementing the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision on the decisive intensification of the battle against crime took place today in the Moscow soviet. An analysis of the operational situation in the city was made by Comrade Saykin, chairman of the executive committee of the Moscow soviet. Comrade Prilukov, the head of the administration of the USSR KGB for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, spoke about the ways to improve it. All speakers were united in the opinion that the extraordinary situation which has taken shape in the country in connection with the growth in crime demands extraordinary measures as well. The absence of a legislative basis for the battle against organized crime is now becoming acute. Comrade Bakatin, the USSR minister of internal affairs, took part in the meeting's work.

Supreme Court Chairman Cited on Draft Laws

PM2007122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by G. Ovcharenko under the rubric "On USSR Supreme Soviet Session Agenda": "The Kind of Court We Need"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Court has submitted for the examination of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers the drafts of two legislative acts: the fundamental principles of legislation of the USSR and the union republics on the courts system and the law on the status of judges in the USSR. Unfortunately, neither of these draft laws has been published in the mass press and consequently they have not been widely discussed. That is why the editorial office has asked Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, to answer a number of questions concerning the drafts of the new legislative acts. We hope that the conversation which is being published will help the people's deputies to determine more clearly their attitude toward this problem.

[Ovcharenko] First of all, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, I would like to know what fundamentally new provisions are contained in the drafts of the basic principles of legislation on the courts system and the law on the status of judges in the USSR?

[Smolentsev] Whereas in existing legislation there was just one principle of collegiality in the court of the first instance—a judge and two people's assessors—the draft proposes to expand the court personnel both with professional judges and with people's assessors. If that proposal is accepted then when more important and complicated cases are being examined the court will include two professional judges and three people's assessors or one judge and four assessors. The range of these cases and the numerical permutation of judges and assessors must be determined by procedural legislation.

[Ovcharenko] But you will agree, Yevgeniy Alekseyevich, that the drafts contain many controversial places. For instance, scholars and journalists have raised the question of restoring trial by jury in our country. There is not a word about that in the draft laws.

[Smolentsev] The civilized world is abandoning this form of judicature as archaic and ineffective. Legal scholars and practising lawyers in Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and other countries are pointing to shortcomings of trial by jury such as its orientation toward group interests and its lack of objectivity, sensitiveness to rhetoric and public passions, the reduction of professional judges' responsibility for deciding cases, and the abundance of unjustified and unlawful verdicts.

[Ovcharenko] But you will agree that our court of one judge and two people's assessors is not ideal either. It does not avoid errors either, alas.

[Smolentsev] Yet even in a trial by jury the correct decisions are not always taken. Moreover, in the latter case the probability of an error in assessing evidence is higher. At the same time our court is distinguished by considerably greater accessibility, it is economical, mobile, and not involved in claims [neprityazatelen], which, incidentally, should not be forgotten either.

The undisputed merit of our institution of people's assessors is that under the law and in practise they have all the rights of a judge and resolve all questions of court examination and the fate of any case on an equal footing with professional judges from start to finish. The only question is that truly worthy people should be elected people's assessors, people grown wise with experience of life, with the necessary knowledge, honest and fair people, and not, as sometimes still happens, people who are less needed than others in production or in an institution.

[Ovcharenko] How do the draft fundamental principles implement the constitutional principle of citizens' equality before the law and the court?

[Smolentsev] It is planned to stipulate that jurisprudence in the USSR is implemented on the basis of citizens' equality before the law and the court irrespective of any differences in their social and official position, nationality, attitude toward religion, or any other factors. We must stress the importance of this provision in light of the fact that even in the recent past a considerable number of people who had committed illegal acts and sometimes grave selfish crimes avoided responsibility because of their high official position or for other considerations alien to legality and justice.

Introduced for the first time is the formula of the principle of the presumption of innocence, which is as close as possible to international law: "The accused is considered innocent until his guilt has been proven within the procedure stipulated by law and established by a court sentence which entered into legal force."

[Ovcharenko] The draft fundamental principles provide for the introduction of a new institution—the institution of judges for administrative and executive procedure. Why is this being done?

[Smolentsev] Judges for administrative and executive procedure will be elected from among people with higher legal education who have reached the age of 22. Their task will come down to examining cases of administrative law violations for which no criminal punishment but some administrative sanction or other is applied and to exercising control over the execution of court decisions.

The introduction of this institution will help to ensure more normal conditions for the work of people's judges and will reduce their excessive workload and enable them to concentrate on examining criminal and civil cases. In addition judges for administrative and executive procedure would comprise a real reserve for promoting as people's judges.

[Ovcharenko] What is planned to strengthen the court's independence?

[Smolentsev] The draft fundamental principles have made an attempt to eliminate any interference whatsoever by the Ministry of Justice and its organs in the administration of justice which until now has proceeded on an entirely legal basis. Article 19 of the existing fundamental principles and the provision on the Ministry of Justice empower the ministry to exercise organizational leadership of the courts. Under the guise of organizational leadership the Ministry of Justice interfered in literally all aspects of the courts' activity. It seems to me that we should rule out any interference by the Ministry of Justice in court activity, including on questions of the organization of the courts' work. The Ministry of Justice can neither check the work of the court nor hear reports from court chairmen. Only the law should guide the courts, as required by the USSR Constitution. Within the framework of the law, supervision of the courts' activity should also be carried out by one party only—higher ranking courts.

[Ovcharenko] But what about the prosecutor's office supervision of the legality of court decisions which exists at present?

[Smolentsev] That provision does not accord with Lenin's view of the role of the prosecutor's office in the state. It appeared in our legislation in 1933 and complied only with those criteria which fitted into the concept of Stalin's dictatorship. He needed a supervisor in the court, a purveyor of his abuses. Incidentally, even then, in the thirties, this contradicted the existing constitution. Nor does this provision comply with articles 153 and 164 of the present USSR Constitution.

In addition no one, after all, conceives of any factors undermining the procedural right of the prosecutor to bring a state prosecution in full, to dispute any court action which in his view is illegal, or to appeal in a higher ranking court against a sentence or any other decision. But in court procedure the prosecutor's right should be equal to the right of the defense lawyer and should in no way encroach on the court's supremacy and independence.

Therefore, I think the draft fundamental principles have taken a step forward compared with existing legislation. In particular there is no longer any mention of exercising supervision of the examination of cases in court, but there is nonetheless provision for supervision over the legality and justification of court decisions with the prosecutor's participation in the court procedure during the examination of a specific case. I think that this part of the draft is also in need of additional work, especially as the question of appealing against illegal court decisions is no longer a question of the courts system, it is part of the procedural activity of the prosecutor and it is regulated by procedural legislation and not by the fundamental principles of the courts system. In my view it would be more correct to omit this provision of the fundamental principles altogether.

[Ovcharenko] Well, there is food for thought here for the Supreme Soviet members. But let's turn to the draft law on the status of judges.

[Smolentsev] This legislative act is being drafted for the first time in our country. Its main function is to create conditions to enhance the prestige of judicature, to ensure guarantees of judges' independence and inviolability, to determine the demands on candidate judges with a view to improving their professional competence, and to regulate other conditions of the staffing and activity of the body of judges capable of fulfilling the tasks of judicature in the rule-of-law state which is taking shape.

Article 3 of the draft contains a list of the main guarantees of the independence of judges and people's assessors. It reads: "The independence of judges and people's assessors is safeguarded by the procedure, laid down by the law, for their election and dismissal, by the inviolability of judges and people's assessors, by a strict procedure for judicature, by privacy for judges when conferring during decision making, and by a ban on demands that this be made public, by responsibility for disrespect to the court or interference in the solution of specific cases, and also by the creation of the necessary organizational and technical and material conditions for the courts' activity."

The provision on the procedure for electing and dismissing judges and people's assessors is advanced to the fore among the guarantees. This question was decided in November 1988 with the introduction of changes and additions to the USSR Constitution. Judges of the first and second ranks will now be elected by higher ranking soviets of people's deputies while supreme court judges will be elected by the corresponding supreme soviets. All judges are elected for a term of 10 years. The selection and recommendation of candidate judges in accordance with the draft is implemented by justice organs with a consideration for the opinions of the labor collectives in which the candidates work and when there is a positive conclusion from an evaluating collegium of judges. These collegiums will be created from oblast-level courts up to the USSR Supreme Court. Their tasks include ensuring that only worthy candidates are nominated for court work and certifying judges and where necessary they will give conclusions on the early recall of a judge.

[Ovcharenko] What demands should candidate judges comply with?

[Smolentsev] They are formulated in article 8 of the draft. By election day the candidate should have reached the age of 25 and have higher legal education. If he is being recommended as a people's judge for the first time he must have worked in a legal specialty for at least 2 years, must undergo professional training, and take the examination of the evaluating collegium. Incidentally, neither the nomination of candidate judges, nor the early recall of a judge, nor his disciplinary liability, nor his official promotion will be possible without a conclusion from the evaluating collegium of judges.

It is proposed to retain the former procedure for electing people's assessors but their term of office is increased to 5 years.

[Ovcharenko] You frequently hear of instances of illegal methods of influencing judges. Has this been considered in the new draft law?

[Smolentsev] Yes, it proposes a solution to the problem of protecting judges and people's assessors from abuse of power when bringing criminal or administrative proceedings. A judge and people's assessor fulfilling his duties in court cannot have criminal proceedings brought against him or be arrested without the agreement of the union republic Supreme Soviet or, in the period between sessions, of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Moreover, it is not only the bringing of criminal proceedings and arrest but even the institution of a criminal case is restricted by a tough condition: A criminal case can only by instituted against a people's judge by the USSR general prosecutor personally or by the prosecutor of the union republic and against higher ranking judges only by the USSR general prosecutor. And the examination of these cases will be exclusively within the competence of the supreme courts of the union republics or the USSR Supreme Court.

[Ovcharenko] But the independence of judges is also a moral and psychological problem....

[Smolentsev] Yes, the only candidate who has the right to acquire the powers of a judge and use them independently, obeying only the law, is the candidate who possesses a sufficient volume of knowledge for this and who is of mature age and also has experience in the correct understanding and application of the laws. In addition he must be morally pure, fair to people, and able to oppose outside influences.

But I would also say that the legal status of the judge today is far from equal to his social status, which is determined to a considerable degree by the conditions of his work and by his remuneration. That is why it is proposed to include the following norm in the draft law: "Judges are guaranteed material and social security corresponding to their high status. Wages for judges are established with a consideration for their evaluation certification.... The local soviets of people's deputies must, no later than 6 months after the election of a judge, provide him with well appointed housing in the form of a separate apartment or house."

[Ovcharenko] But if a judge has nonetheless failed to justify the trust placed in him—what then?

[Smolentsev] The draft clearly defines the grounds and procedure for the recall and early release of judges and people's assessors and their disciplinary liability. They can be deprived of their powers for violating socialist legality or committing an act of depravity but only by being recalled by the soviet of people's deputies which elected the judge or in the case of a people's assessor by being recalled by his electors and also on the strength of a "guilty" verdict against them.

Economic Committee's Ongoing Work Described

PM2308082589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Economic Reform, by V. Romanyuk in the "Moskva" Hotel under the rubric "The Deputy and the Electorate": "Problems Do Not Go Away for the Vacation"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] We spoke to V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Economic Reform, in his work office in the "Moskva" Hotel. Members of the committee have gone their separate ways for the parliamentary recess. In 2 days' time the chairman himself will be flying to his home in Lvov, but, as he immediately pointed out, he does not expect to have any holiday: Matters have built up at the plant. [passage omitted]

[Romanyuk] What kind of relationship is developing between your committee and the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on Economic Reform? Do you not duplicate each other or, on the other hand, is there not cause for friction here?

[Vologzhin] We are developing a constructive, creative relationship. We have had to work on the same draft for Baltic economic accountability in extreme conditions. And, as I have said before, mainly in the evenings. We have been starting work at 2000 and the discussions have often lasted until midnight or even later. For 2 weeks running, L.I. Abalkin has come here and played a very lively role in the discussion of the draft.

[Romanyuk] As part of the amendments to the Law on State Enterprise adopted by the Supreme Soviet, labor collectives have been given the right to come to the securities market, issue shares to mobilize extra financial resources, make specially targeted loans, and conduct other, similar operations. As the general director of the Lvov "Konveyer" Plant, you have been one of the pioneers of a shares-based economy. What prospects are now opening up before this kind of economy?

[Vologzhin] Since the first shares appeared at the "Konveyer" Plant, they have been issued at more than 300 enterprises. But the "Konveyer" Plant has not been standing still. A commercial bank was registered a week ago, part of whose statutory capital [ustavnoy fond] belongs to the association. The joint-stock enterprise is now transferring to lease relations.

Our own, Lvov lease system has its peculiarities. First of all, there is no state order. Second, each production unit transfers to the lease system independently—the foundry, the machine assembly plant, consumer goods production plant, and so forth. What is more, each one is given the status of an independent firm with its own account, wages fund, and the right to conclude contracts with other enterprises. [passage omitted]

Deputy Interviewed on Results of Supreme Soviet

LD0808165289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Interview with People's Deputy Yuriy Nikolayevich Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow Historical Archives Institute, by unidentified reporter; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Announcer] As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet session has completed its work. In this bulletin we have an interview with People's Deputy Yuriy Nikolayevich Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow Historical Archives Institute.

[Unidentified reporter] Yuriy Nikolayevich, in general it is time to sum up the results, preliminary ones, of course, because the break is only a short one.

[Afanasyev] This session was unusual. Many words were spoken at it, many proposals were made that were fully in keeping with the life experienced by our people, the peoples of our country. And this is, how shall I put it, a very reassuring point. Laws that have long been awaited were adopted. For example, I was sincerely overjoyed by the fact that the Baltic republics were supported and their proposals on economic independence and republican financial autonomy were finally adopted. It seems to me that this is a colossal, a huge step forward and it will make it possible for something to be done that has not yet happened in the conditions of our country.

Then, there is a whole series of other reassuring points, but I don't want to name them all. And yet, there is, unfortunately, still room for a number of buts. It seems to me that once again all of us, including the Supreme Soviet, have not taken full account of our present state before and after the miners' strikes. Whereas before and during, say, the March elections our people said very concisely and strongly that they did not want to live under such a socialism of ration cards, then since these strikes, it has become clear to everyone that they will not live like that. During the strikes, it was said loudly for the whole country to hear: We are not going to live like that. Of course, this should be more thoroughly studied and conclusions should be drawn. And there can be only one conclusion here. We need a policy that anticipates events. This is something we lack. And at this session of the Supreme Soviet, where do we see this expressed?

We spent 2 days in the interregional group and we discussed all these problems ardently. And now the main task, it seems to me, is the holding of the congress, an (?extraordinary) session of the Congress of People's Deputies no later than September this year so that people can finally express themselves with regard to this Brezhnevist constitution, which prevents us from taking a single step in a normal way. In other words, vitally important tasks are not being carried out because they are contrary to this constitution. Above all, the law on elections should be changed and elections to local soviets should be conducted on the basis of the new law and not the one which is currently in force. This is what seems to me to be task number one.

[Reporter] Yuriy Nikolayevich, the very setting up of the interregional group has caused many arguments and much hostility. Some see it as an opposition, some see in it superfluous radicalism, and on the whole, there are as many views on it as there are deputies in this hall. What is your view? Why is it really needed?

[Afanasyev] It is needed, above all, in order to help perestroyka acquire its true form. That is now I see it. And we need a joint search here. The deputies were drawn into the interregional group not only by a certain dissatisfaction with the outcome of the first congress and the desire to prepare a better second congress, but also by a desire to define more precisely their fundamental and basic foundations. We were told, and in particular by Deputy Primakov, to go and work in the commissions and committees. There is plenty of work there, so to speak. And this is correct. Above all, one needs to work in the commissions and committees, but one has to come to them with some kind of conception, and only then can everything be set in place in the committees.

I personally see nothing frightening or disquieting in such words as factions or opposition. This is all just the norm, just normal parliamentary life and activity and I think that we will gradually become accustomed and will not go goggle-eyed about these words that are, so to speak, frightening in their Stalinist interpretation, or the Stalinist attitude to them. All this seems to me to be a very positive process which, so to speak, will develop and deepen.

[Reporter] In other words, the joint working out of constructive proposals, putting them forward for joint discussion and then the working out of decisions. That is how I understand you.

[Afanasyev] Yes, precisely that. But it is important to recognize that dissatisfaction about the elaboration of certain fundamental principles is a real fact, and after this, to undertake its elaboration. In other words, this is the number one task of the Interregional Group, which intends to develop its own platform and to publicizes this platform widely, to tell the other deputies about it, and to invite them to discussion, and finally, to try to implement it, that is, a platform that would envision the radicalization and intensifaction of the restructuring of our entire life.

Law Approving Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees

PM0808102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Law on Approving USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees and Making Modifications and Additions to USSR Legislative Acts"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

To approve the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees:

of 14 March 1988 "On Taxing Citizens Working in Cooperatives Producing and Selling Goods and Providing Services and Modifying the Procedure for Issuing Licenses for the Exercise of Individual Labor Activity" except for Articles 1 and 4 and Point 1 and Paragraphs 5 and 6 of Point 3 of Article 5;

of 14 December 1988 "On Supplementing Article 4 of the Fundamentals of Housing Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics";

of 16 January 1989 "On Additional Measures To Restore Justice to the Victims of the Repressions That Occurred in the Period of the Thirties-Forties and Early Fifties" after rewording the first part of Article 1 of the decree as follows:

"1. To condemn the mass extrajudicial repressions of the period of Stalinism and deem as unconstitutional the three-man tribunals of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD], the NKVD Administration, and the Unified State Political Administration Collegium and the 'special conferences' of the NKVD, Ministry of State Security, and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs which operated in the Thirties-Forties and Early Fifties and to revoke the extrajudicial decisions passed by them which have not been rescinded prior to the promulgation of this USSR Supreme Soviet decree. To deem rehabilitated all citizens repressed by decision of the aforementioned bodies, including persons subsequently condemned for escaping from places of unlawful special settlement," and to remove the word "nationalist" from the second part of this article;

from 6 February 1989 "On Making Modifications and Additions to USSR Legislative Acts on Responsibility for Violating Road Traffic Regulations";

of 21 March 1989 "On Reducing the USSR Armed Forces and Expenditure on Defense in 1989-1990";

of 21 March 1989 "On Withdrawing the Border, Internal, and Railroad Troops from the USSR Armed Forces," replacing the words "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium" in Article 4 of the decree with the words "USSR Supreme Soviet";

of 28 March 1989 "On Making Modifications and Additions to the USSR Supreme Soviet Decree 'On Taxing the Owners of Means of Transport and other Power-Driven Vehicles and Machinery'";

of 7 April 1989 "On Leasing and Leasing Relations in the USSR," replacing the words "up to 1 July 1990" in Article 19 of the decree with "up to 1 November 1989";

of 10 April 1989 "On Making Modifications to the USSR Law 'On Compulsory Universal Military Service'";

of 10 May 1989 "On Expanding the Rights of Collective Farms and Other Agricultural Cooperatives in Allocating the Housing Stock at Their Disposal";

of 10 May 1989 "On Making Modifications and Additions to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree 'On Questions Relating to the Creation on USSR Territory and the Activity of Joint Ventures and International Associations and Organizations Involving Soviet and Foreign Organizations, Firms, and Managerial Bodies'";

of 16 May 1989 "On Making Modifications to Article 29 of the Fundamentals of Corrective Labor Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics";

of 18 May 1989 "On Approving the Statutes on Workers Control by Trade Unions."

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 31 July 1989

People's Control Committee Chairman Interviewed

18001515 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with G.V. Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Kurasov: "People's Control, Effective"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] **In considering the candidate for the position of chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, one of the deputies speaking at the congress said he had the impression that the aspirant to one of the most important state posts does not have a clear idea of the functions of the USSR KNK [People's Control Committee].**

One would think that such clarity should not have been required of a person who had not yet been appointed to the position. But now the appointment has been made. After a certain time had passed, our correspondent met with the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee.

[Kurasov] Gennadiy Vasilyevich! First of all, I think we should let the reader get to know you better.

[Kolbin] It is difficult for me to talk about myself. And my personality was rather fully exposed on television and by deputies at the congress and in the session. I will only say that when I was leaving Georgia my coworkers made reference in farewell remarks to "the struggle with negative phenomena." And we did not escape these concerns in Ulyanovsk either. Or in Kazakhstan. Success in the fight against various scandalous practices can be significant only if one is supported by the people. In Kazakhstan, when it was learned that many party executives who were in the circle of the former first leader of the republic had committed abuses behind his back, we first of all organized discussions in primary party organizations, in raykoms [rayon party committee], and in gorkoms [city party committee]. And only after this, as ever newer facts of abuse were uncovered, did the responsible organs institute criminal proceedings and bring the guilty parties to court.

Strong measures are inseparable from justice. Perestroyka implies humane treatment of people. Therefore, those organs which have been given the right to suppress evil are obliged to select measures of responsibility that are sufficient to force a rethinking of one's acts and to stop illegal activities, but not more. Prevention is also important. Wickedness must not become an infectious example for others.

[Kurasov] You unquestionably had close encounters in party work with the activity of organs of people's control. What in your opinion is it necessary to get rid of in their practices today?

[Kolbin] The fact is that our system is now guided by the Law of People's Control in the USSR, which was adopted 10 years ago.

It would seem necessary immediately to start with preparation for its review in order to bring it into consonance with new conditions. But perestroyka is impetuous. The first outlines of legislative proposals prepared at the beginning of this year already require substantive changes. From this the conclusion suggests itself that the preparation of the law has to be started not on paper, but with practical matters, with the accumulated experience, and with a search for new approaches to the organization of control.

[Kurasov] On the "Pages of People's Control" in IZVESTIYA, correspondence has been published relating how local comrades are trying to improve control work in connection with the activities of the new economic mechanism and a real broadening of the rights of enterprise and organization managers, granting them more independence. After coordinating the activities of the offices which had been assigned control functions, they sharply reduced the number of controls and succeeded in increasing their effectiveness.

What is your reaction to this experience?

[Kolbin] With respect to the searches as such, unquestionably my reaction is positive. As is known, they were conducted in the course of requirements of the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference about bringing order to control in the country, and about creating an integral system that would not waste the work time of the checkers and those being checked on, that would eliminate the appearance of departmental and local interests, and that would be independent of those organizations and officials who are being checked.

Under conditions of broadening the rights of enterprises and their switch to self-management, there is undoubtedly a need for more powerful social control than exists today. It is still poorly organized, it is disunited, and its performance is not great. Labor collectives have many very diverse control formations—people's, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], trade union, party controls, and a huge number of inspection services.

It is for this reason that an experimental association appeared. It is difficult to predict what the best form will be to put into effect. In my view, it would be advantageous to establish a single organ of social control at an enterprise.

Take, for example, the practice of single control at village soviets on whose territory there is one kolkhoz [collective farm] or sovkhoz [state farm]. Groups like this have representatives from the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations of the administrative unit itself, its control-inspection service, and also representatives of schools, hospitals, and other establishments located on the territory of the village soviet. Such groups are formed by decision of a session of the local soviet and they are assigned their activity, which is structured to take into account not only the interests of the labor collective, but of all residents. Specific experience with such work has been gained in the Ukraine, in Kazakhstan, and in some oblasts of Siberia, and it responds, on the one hand, to the task of strengthening the organs of people's control; and, on the other hand, it reaffirms the authority of the soviets on their own territory.

In some rayons of the capital, I became convinced of this at a recent meeting with Muscovites, a very interesting practice of developing social control over place of residence was established. I have in mind groups of people's control at house management offices, at building operation boards. They include pensioners, housewives, representatives of various amateur, so-called informal, associations, workers, and employees who are not indifferent to the problems of daily domestic living. Within the scope of these groups are public services, home repairs, and the activities of local clubs, libraries, Red Corners, trade and medical establishments, provision of amenities, and ecological problems; that is, an entire spectrum of anxieties, joys, and adversities which any person has encountered regardless of profession, place of service, and "home" conditions.

Briefly, quite a few new things surfaced. But it can hardly be said firmly that the influence of our organs on the state of affairs has increased substantially on the whole, and that as a result there are noticeable achievements in the economy, that discipline has been strengthened, that an effective fight is being waged against mismanagement, that there is a reduction in petty theft and embezzlement and in serious everyday living problems. This means that the forms of work some committees have adopted, in particular the coordination of control, do not always achieve their objective. Searches must be continued and people must be selected for the control organs who are dedicated to the affirmation of justice. I would even say meticulous people who have no tolerance for any kind of manifestations of mismanagement when it comes to the question of losses due to violations.

[Kurasov] Many think that up to the end of 1965 when a single party-state control existed in the country, its authority was much greater and many were afraid of it. The question was also raised at the Congress of People's Deputies about the reinstitution of the Leninist idea of an association of party-state control.

[Kolbin] The proposal on the unification of party and state control raises a whole number of questions. People's control in accordance with the USSR Constitution today is a combination of state and public control. Its organs are formed by soviets of people's deputies. With the transfer of authority into the hands of the soviets, these state-public organs should remain as such. Party control has its own function which is associated with a check on the fulfillment by communists of programmed requirements and adherence to regulation norms, all of that which characterizes the work, political, and moral qualities of a communist.

And now, in general, when the question concerning the division of functions of party and soviet organs stands as a matter of principle, I think there is no reason for combining party and state control. Each has enough concerns. As for authority, it is created by deeds, as is known. So that control lives up to its designation of people's, its organs must serve the people.

[Kurasov] Please say a few words about the committee's immediate plans.

[Kolbin] If they are to be really brief, then our most pressing tasks issue directly from the 1st Congress of People's Deputies and the session of the Supreme Soviet. I am convinced that the main task not only of the union but of all of the republic, kray, oblast, and rayon committees, and all public elements of people's control must become the control over the progress of economic reform. They are summoned to defend reform, to see what impedes and, the main thing, to take measures to improve economic management.

One of our paramount concerns should also be control over the resolution of social questions. The congress, as is known, obligated the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers to accelerate the resolution of the food problem, implementation of the housing program, and increased attention to the veterans of war and labor who participated in the war in Afghanistan. Of paramount significance are the qualitative renewal of the entire system of education and training, the elimination of differences in the quality of medical service, and the development of a national ecology program, including immediate and long-term measures for improving the environment.... And the organs of people's control have to be involved in all of these problems, as the saying goes, in real earnest.

[Kurasov] In this connection, there is the question of the priority directions of control. As is known, they were worked up at one time to the year 1990.... Now what; are they being changed?

[Kolbin] A lot of water has flowed over the dam since then. The processes of perestroyka in economic, social, and political life have moved far ahead. Naturally, substantial changes will be required in the approach to individual questions, and, indeed, I will say frankly, to the selection of these questions for study. The absolute requirement for all local committees without exception regularly to check on the progress of the resolution of one or another problem has become a kind of hindrance to their work. As for the essence of the priorities themselves, they are all, of course, burning issues of the day, or the committees are "absorbed" or "engrossed," or however you want to call it, by today's principal priority—decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies. For example, the congress instructed the People's Control Committee to analyze comprehensively the reasons for the growth in incomplete construction and to hear the accounts of the managers of the ministries and departments and those to blame for the groundless increase in the number of newly financed construction jobs. You will agree that the fulfillment of this assignment will not detract from the "priority" control over the realization of this very same housing program.

A permanent study of the problems of price formation was proposed in the "directions" about which you speak. The congress required additional measures to stabilize the economic situation in the country. Therefore, together with the USSR Supreme Soviet's Commission of the Soviet of the Union on Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, we intend earnestly to undertake the elimination of defects in the established practice of price formation. In fact, this work has already begun. Preliminary checks indicate that the ministries and departments in practice react neither to the irritation of the people over the increase in prices or the profound dissatisfaction with the situation which can be heard in connection with this in numerous speeches of the deputies at the congress and the session, nor to the direct instructions of the government about not allowing unjustifiable increases in prices under the new conditions of economic management. To improve their financial indices, many enterprises are attempting to increase the output of more expensive articles, while simultaneously cutting back, or entirely cutting out, the production of articles that are inexpensive and popular with the people. We will recall with what difficulty the question of raising minimum pension scales was decided at the session. But will the addition be realistic if the industries that produce the commodities that are very necessary to the people continue to operate as, for example, the Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] of Belorussia. Sixty-two enterprises of this ministry produce commodities amounting to more than R5 billion. In a per capita evaluation, this is more than 1.5 times the country's average. Some would not mind bragging about this as a kind of contribution to perestroyka. But when we look deeper, we see another side to this "contribution."

It seems that the rates of increase in elaborating the cost measurement at the Grodno fine clothes association were 5 times, at the Baranovichi knitwear factory, 9 times, and at the Vitebsk hosiery and knitwear combine, 10 times higherthan natural. What kind of easing, let us say, will pensioners experience if they want to acquire the products of the Minsk shoe association "Luch?" Owing to the employment of temporary and contracted prices for 3 years, they contrived here to raise the average retail price of shoes for elderly people by a factor of 1.4. The country is concerned about large families, but the prices for school skirts at the Molodechno clothes factory doubled in the years of the current 5-year plan. The Brest clothes factory "gladdens" young families with the fact that in the first quarter of this year the retail prices of clothes for small children of nursery age were increased by 21.5 percent.

Thus, you see, this is what is occurring not only in Belorussia, and not only in light industry. The association "Kargomash" of the USSR Minlegprom began to produce new coal extraction units. They are virtually no different in their technical parameters from the old ones.... However, in price.... For delivery to the association "Yuzhkuzbassugol" a price was set just short of R2 million—more expensive than the cost of series production by a factor of 2.2. The Voronezh association "Ulmash" of the USSR Minaviaprom [Ministry of Aviation Industry] modernized automated equipment for packaging sugar. Productivity increased by a factor of 1.5, and the price, by a factor of almost 4....

[Kurasov] In publishing reports of the meetings of the USSR People's Control Committee and the republic, kray, and oblast committees, we provide information on punishment of the guilty, sentences and repayment for deficiencies from salaries. The readers are bewildered: The price of negligence, lack of administrative abilities, and mismanagement is sometimes measured in thousands of rubles, and the payment is 1, 2, and 3 (maximum) monthly salaries. Is there a need for making the measures of responsibility employed by the people's control organs more severe?

[Kolbin] In each specific case, the punishment should correspond to the deed, but the stoppages of pay for the guilty parties, of course, far from cover the losses. One should keep the following in mind here. When legislation establishes the full material responsibility of officials for causing damage, and the scale exceeds 3 monthly salaries, then according to regulations on the imposition of monetary claims on a worker's salary, which was approved by the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the committees issue instructions to the appropriate organizations about reimbursement for damages caused in accordance with established legal procedures.

Moreover, the committees have the right to transmit verification materials to the public prosecutor's office for investigation and punishment of officials in judicial proceedings. Incidentally, this is what we did the other day in considering the verification of findings that disclosed large upward distortions in the construction activity of the housebuilding combine in Yakutsk.

It would seem that everything in this plan is clear according to the law. It is another matter that committees, including our own, almost never use this law.

Along with this, I will emphasize: For people's control, in a Leninist understanding of the term, the most important thing is not just catching shortcomings, recording losses, and punishing the guilty parties. The main thing is not to permit damage and violations, and to be able to make corrections in time. Then even punishment will not be necessary. It is true that here one must consider that the reaction of people to criticism will differ. For one person, it is enough to hint at shortcomings for things to begin to move; for a second, it might be necessary to create a stressful situation; and for a third, no matter what is done, nothing will come of it. Meaning, it is not possible. One has to discern when people do not want to do something and when they cannot and remove them from the job in time so they do not torment themselves and the job does not suffer. The end result of our activity should be the reinforcement of legality, discipline, a reduction in losses of all types of resources, and a real improvement in the lives of people.

Using this occasion, I want to say something about throwing light in the press on the activities of people's control organs that disclose shortcomings. We need glasnost like the air. Not for the sake of publicity, but in the interests of the effort. I have been convinced more than once from personal experience in Georgia, and in Ulyanovsk, and in Kazakhstan that to uproot vice is easier and simpler and, mainly, it is more effective, as they say, when it is exposed "to the world." The power of public opinion, people's anger, and personal consciences are at times the best prescription for improvement.

However, recently the organs of people's control basically forfeited the weapon of glasnost. Because the central press, as if on command, stopped producing thematic pages. It goes without saying that journalists and readers perceive the special pages as an anachronism and as a kind of symbol of stagnation. But, you see, there are very likely other forms for regular exposure of the activity of people's control. I repeat, regular. People should know what we are doing and, knowing this, they will come to us with their proposals, advice, and concerns, thereby multiplying our forces.

PRAVDA Reports Ligachev Astrakahan Visit

*PM0808120189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Stay in Astrakhan Oblast"]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Astrakhan Oblast 1-4 August. Together with the oblast's leaders he examined progress in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions, developing the oblast's agro-industrial complex, and implementing social programs in the city and the countryside.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary devoted much attention to studying the state of affairs in vegetable and melon growing. On the "Kilinchinskiy" and "Kommunar" State Farms [sovkhoz], the "Pobeda" Collective Farm [kolkhoz], and other farms he had meetings and talks with workers, kolkhoz members, and farm specialists and leaders on enhancing these sectors' efficiency on the basis of further increasing the yield of agricultural crops and employing intensive techniques and progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration. The desire to introduce economic accountability, leasing, contracts, and cooperatives more widely was expressed. Questions connected with preserving the harvest and preventing losses on the products' way to consumers and for processing were raised sharply.

On the "Kilinchinskiy" Sovkhoz, for example, a highly mechanized wharf, a sorting center, and a vegetable precooling station have been built on the bank of the Volga. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of the River Fleet helped the sovkhoz to erect these installations. Captains of vegetable-carrying ships take high-quality produce on board here and deliver it in the same condition to the country's industrial centers. This work has received a high appraisal and been recommended for broad dissemination. Melon growers raised the question of substandard produce not acceptable to procurement workers. However, watermelons, for example, could be used to produce fruit-paste candies and candied peel or in the production of honey and juice. It all goes to waste, however. Ye.K. Ligachev emphasized that everything that has been grown must not be wasted but be processed and delivered to consumers.

Melon growers and farm leaders have many problems with railroad workers. Reception and dispatch centers are not organized, and the supply of cars is frequently held up. These problems were discussed at Lineynoye Railroad Procurement Center. Ye.K. Ligachev met there with the center's working people and with students of a Leningrad vocational and technical school who are involved in dispatching produce as members of a student detachment.

Ye.K. Ligachev visited the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Irrigated Vegetable and Melon Growing. He inspected equipment designed to cultivate vegetable and other row crops using Astrakhan industrial technology. He voiced the wish that scientists together with machine builders should more quickly fulfill the orders of vegetable and melon growers, whose labor is still mechanized to only a small extent.

Various management options at farm, rayon, and oblast level were examined with the participation of agricultural specialists and leaders. The CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that it is necessary to put an end to the command style, reduce the size of the managerial apparatus to the minimum, and place emphasis on the development of economically accountable relations, leasing, and contracts and on the enhancement of independence and responsibility.

In the oblast center Ye.K. Ligachev visited the canning combine of the "Astrakhankonservprom" Association and the Astrakhan Fish-Canning and Refrigeration Combine. He had talks with workers and employees. The question of the need for the speediest modernization of production facilities, which will not only improve working conditions but also make it possible to increase production of high-quality output, was raised insistently. Measures to increase production of vegetables, fruits, and melon crops and to improve their supply to the country's industrial centers were discussed at a conference held in Astrakhan.

Lively talks were held with residents of the oblast center, the oblast's villages and hamlets, and fishing settlements. The CPSU Central Committee secretary answered numerous questions connected with the social development of cities and villages, the construction of housing, cultural and domestic projects, roads, and water and gas mains, and the strengthening of private family farms of workers and kolkhoz members and rural farms of industrial enterprises and construction sites. All the efforts of the oblast party organization and of soviet and economic organs, Ye.K. Ligachev emphasized, must be aimed at improving people's lives. This is the chief aim of perestroyka.

Talks were held with members of the CPSU Oblast Committee Bureau, during which questions of the work of party organizations under modern conditions were discussed.

Ye.K. Ligachev laid flowers at the memorial to V.I. Lenin in Astrakhan and visited the museum-house of the family of I.N. Ulyanov.

Ye.K. Ligachev was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by I.I. Skiba, head of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department; I.N. Dyakov, first secretary of the oblast party committee; and A.P. Guzhvin, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee.

Hazardous Rail Cargo Incidents Reported

18290259 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
15 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by M. Gorbis: "Two Fires From the Same Bottle"]

[Text] **At 2 am during the night of 6 August, having arrived at the Zatishye station, engineer V. Dovgan reported that something was wrong in one of the cars. Soon, acrid smoke arose—the car contained hundreds of polyethylene cylinders full of hydrogen peroxide.**

The village fire engine responded to the alarm, and they soon tamed the fire. True, while fighting the fire, one fireman was poisoned and was sent to the hospital. A special fire train finally arrived at Zatishye from Kotovsk only 2 hours later.

On 8 August, 48 hours later, a secondary self-ignited fire occurred in the very same car while it was awaiting cargo transfer. The situation became critical. But no one, neither the shipper, the Odessa Port, nor the workers of the Odessa-Port Station, nor the department workers hurried to the scene. In despair, Zatishye Station Master I. Besshtankovskiy sent the chief of the Odessa railroad, the chief of the Odessa division, and other concerned parties a telegram in which he warned about the high probability of further fires in the ill-fated car, which could lead to the complete loss of the cargo, pollution of the environment, and the poisoning of humans.

Only on 10 August were the cylinders of hydrogen peroxide transferred to another car (145 cylinders had burned in the fire) and sent back to Odessa.

At this time, the horrible tidings came from Murom to Odessa that "Car No 24538852 dispatched in the beginning of August from Odessa-Port Station with hydrogen peroxide burned at the station. The loss is estimated at R30,000. We request that representatives of the port and the station come immediately."

Nobody rushed off to Murom....

How did this happen? Why is it that the same disaster happened with this particular cargo? The specialists of the Odessa department think that the dockers of port brigade No 151 violated regulations while loading the hydrogen peroxide cylinders by not providing the cylinders with supplemental packing in wooden crates. Additionally, brigades from the shippers or the recipients should have followed in escort, but that was also disregarded in Odessa.

If, at the port, they had familiarized themselves with emergency procedure card No 90, they would have learned that hydrogen peroxide explodes upon heating or contamination, and will ignite explosively upon evaporation. In addition, hydrogen peroxide is hazardous to human health.

In a word, the consequences could have been most tragic, not to mention the extremely tangible material losses. And, incidentally, the losses from fire in the current first half of the year on the Odessa railroad have almost tripled in comparison to the same period last year.

Typhoon Judy Brings Disaster to Maritime Kray

14 Rayons, 109 Villages Flooded

LD0808214389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, many disasters have been caused in Maritime Kray by the topical Typhoon Judy. According to the latest data, 14 rayons and 109 villages have been flooded. There were 860,000 people in the disaster area. More than 70,000 head of cattle have been cut off from pasturage and livestock units. The epidemiological situation may worsen. Anatoliy Ivanovich Potapov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] health minister, telephoned the editorial office from Vladivostok today and reported that there are not enough disinfectant means in the kray: 800 tonnes of chloride of lime or other chloride compounds must be sent there urgently. We ask everyone who can help in the current situation, especially the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Processing Industry, to provide assistance, to apply to the Maritime Kray headquarters for eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster or to the RSFSR Ministry of Health. [video shows aerial views of flooding]

More on Flooding

PM0808140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent N. Bratchikov dispatch: "In the Wake of Cruel 'Judy'"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 31 Jul—The sun over Vladivostok is scorching. And it is difficult to believe that disaster has struck just 100 km from the city. The powerful typhoon "Judy" with a speed of 46 meters per second swept from the south to the north of the kray, literally flooding everything in its path.

First to undergo the ordeal was Nakhodka, then the "golden" Partizanskaya Valley was submerged. And it went further—to Lazovskiy, Olginskiy, Chuguyevskiy, Anuchinskiy, Dalnerechenskiy, and Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayons.... Muddy, turbulent torrents gushed from the spurs of the Sikhote-Alin range into the numerous rivers and streams, which immediately swelled, their levels rising by three or even eight meters.

The kray headquarters reported depressing statistics: A total of 109 population centers were flooded, with around 2,000 houses damaged, 267 bridges were swept away, and 1,340 km of roads, 700 km of power transmission lines, and 600 km of telephone lines were put out of action.

The typhoon caused particularly severe damage to agriculture. According to preliminary information, 120,000 hectares of land were flooded, including potato, vegetable, and corn plantations. Around 75,000 head of cattle were cut off from livestock units and settlements and 8,000 people were evacuated from the danger areas.

Yesterday (31 July) in the kray center there was a live broadcast of a session of the Maritime Kray CPSU Committee Bureau and the kray soviet executive committee [ispolkom]. Practically all the rayons of Maritime Kray were on the line.

Partizansk:

"The situation is being normalized," V. Butakov, first secretary of the Partizansk CPSU City Committee [Gorkom] reports. "Seven bridges have been restored. Links with the villages are still unstable. Helicopters are supplying bread and provisions. We managed to provide the town's inhabitants with water—at the moment there is enough pressure to reach the third floor. We urgently need slate, bitumen, pipes, and cement."

Chuguyevka:

"The situation is complex, the damage is enormous—R43 million. Lives have been lost. But the roads to some villages have now been opened up. People have been provided with bread and medicines. All the firewood that the villagers had laid in was carried away by the floods and at least than 1,500 gas cylinders are now needed. The highway to Dalnegorsk is out of action and 500-600 vehicles have accumulated in Proran."

Yakovlevka:

"The situation is catastrophic. Around 300 houses have been flooded. The water level in the rivers has risen by 5 meters. Contact with the villages is via military radio operators."

The further north the rayons are, the worse the reports sound. The typhoon is clearing, but wall upon wall of water is coming down from the headwaters of the rivers. Two walls must have collided and merged near the town of Lesozavodsk. According to weather reports, the level may reach 8 meters, which means a real flood in the town. Everyone has been mobilized for the impending struggle against the flood.

The bureau and the ispolkom, whose sessions were attended by leaders of kray organizations and departments, are making urgent decisions immediately on the basis of the reports. Although much has already been done. Rescue detachments, equipment, medicines, and provisions have been sent to the stricken rayons, and forces of civil defense formations and military units have been mobilized.

The situation required that the following appeal be made to party, soviet, trade union, and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League organs, labor collective councils, the leaders of enterprises and organizations, and all the kray's working people:

"It is necessary to concentrate all efforts on saving people! Primary concern must be shown for the elderly, children, and the sick, and shelter, food, and medicines must be made available to them. State and collective farm and enterprise workers must make every effort to prevent losses of livestock, equipment, and all material assets."

At present in Maritime Kray only Vladivostok remains a "dry" island. The hospitable kray is asking its guests to put off their visits to the Pacific Ocean for the time being.

Gas Explosion in Apartment Block Kills 18

PM1008143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent M. Odinets dispatch: "Emergency in Building in Gvardeyskaya Street"]

[Text] Mogilev-Podolskiy [Vinnitsa Oblast] 7 Aug—There has been a disaster in this old town on the Dnestr. The modular floors collapsed as a result of a violent explosion in a five-story building on Tretya Gvardeyskaya Street. Twenty apartments were completely destroyed and 10 were partially damaged.

Militia workers and fire engines from the paramilitary fire detachment rushed to the scene of the disaster; it was midday. Picking their way through the debris, they extricated 6 injured people, who were hospitalized; 18 people in the building died.

According to preliminary information, the disaster occurred because a highly explosive substance had accumulated in the basement, where there was a housing operation office store, because of a gas leak in the pipes. V. Bezprozvanniy and V. Marushchak, housing operation office workers, went down there. The latter lit a match and an explosion ensued. V. Bezprozvanniy survived, but his coworker was killed.

First Cooperatives' Congress Views Problems

PM2007090289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[A. Protsenko article: "In the Grip of Bans: What We Can Expect From the Association of the Country's Cooperatives"]

[Text] After 2 days of heated debates at the first congress of representatives of the "new cooperative system," the Union of United Cooperatives of the USSR in the spheres of production and services was formed. The "free agents" of our economy united to form a union-wide organization that will henceforth represent their interests in all state and public organs.

The finale of the congress was a surprise. No sooner had the newly elected president of the union, USSR People's Deputy V. Tikhonov, academician of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, declared the congress closed, than a priest, Father Nikodim, appeared on the platform—one of the full delegates and chairman of the "Siberian Beekeeping Complex" monastic cooperative. He got up and...blessed the cooperative workers who had, as he put it, done work pleasing to God. And then he walked around the presidium table where the guests of honor were, and made a bold sign of the cross over the academician president. The hall, which was full of people who believe neither in God nor the Devil, but only in added value, was dumbfounded at first, and then broke into deafening applause.

The congress finished its work and set up the union on 1 July—International Cooperatives Day, which confirmed our course of rapprochement with the world economic community. But on that same day the republican decrees on taxation of cooperatives came into force, showing that our course still has unique features of its own. Commenting on the tax rates that have been imposed, the main speaker at the congress, A. Korobkin, chairman of the organizing committee and rector of the Moscow Cooperative Institute, put forward a few observations.

That, for instance, additional difficulties will now arise for cooperatives producing consumer goods, because in the majority of republics a tax of between 25 and 50 percent of income has been imposed on them. That because of high taxes, there will probably be no construction cooperatives anywhere except Moldavia and Armenia. In Russia, the Ukraine, and Uzbekistan, cooperatives engaged in caring for children, the sick, and the elderly are hardly likely to develop, because in order to cover the taxes they would have to increase prices. And in Russia and Kazakhstan even prices for cooperatives' special products for invalids will be 15 percent higher than in other republics, where no tax is envisaged on such income....

After receiving the most progressive law a year ago, the cooperative workers have been unable to take full advantage of it: Virtually all the ministries and departments in those sectors where cooperatives have become the rivals of state enterprises promptly set about their own "lawmaking." Many examples of this were cited at the congress, there is no point in listing them. It was perhaps put most trenchantly by V. Tikhonov, academician of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (who did not then suspect that the congress would ask him to be president of the new union): "We are constantly coming up against a flouting of the laws by the state and party apparatus. I cannot remember a single month since the adoption of the Law 'On the Cooperative System in the USSR' when we have not come up against actions by the state and party apparatus aimed not simply at restricting the cooperative movement, but at curtailing it, and in a number of cases eliminating cooperatives."

It is not only departments that are putting "spokes in the wheels" of the cooperatives. Strange as it may seem, the local organs of power are doing the same thing—and with some success. You would think the cooperatives were beneficial to them—it means additional goods and services and considerable income for the budget: more cooperatives—more income. But not one speaker at the congress could cite a single example of a **normal** attitude by a soviet executive committee to a cooperative, let alone the creation of "most-favored status." On the contrary: There are endless delays in the registration of cooperatives, unexplained refusals to make premises available, and innumerable investigations into economic and financial activity, with the inevitable threats to close the cooperative for the most trifling fault. Delegates complained of the increasing "bureaucratic racketeering"—from ordinary extortion to the imposition of additional taxes and duties.

I was very tempted to develop at least a few of the "real life examples" cited by the cooperative workers, but they all require additional checking. So I will describe how the most successful cooperative operates in my own region.

In the Ukraine there is a cooperative association called "Vtorpolimermash," headed by L. Lantsman. Its machine building plant is the only one in the country to produce production lines for four-color linoleum, which previously we used to buy with foreign currency. The volume of production is substantial—in the brief period of its existence "Vtorpolimermash" has already saved the country some $300 million. Earning 40 times more than it needs for wages, the cooperative is continuing to expand production. In particular, together with other machine building cooperatives "Vtorpolimermash" has already embarked on the construction of 10 instrument plants, each of which will be able to provide the most up-to-date equipment for the production of consumer goods worth R2 billion.

And so? When Lantsman, who pays substantial sums to the local budget in tax, asked for a plot of land for a new plant, he received it only after the cooperative had...presented Kiev with one of its production lines, with a productivity of 5 million square meters of linoleum a year.

"And I constantly have to go in for ruses like this," Lantsman complained from the congress platform. "Why do the authorities not understand the advantages of developing the cooperative system?"

In the break between sessions I asked Leonid Khananovich how he intends to work, with the new taxes.

"They will lift the decree, reason will prevail," he replied optimistically.

"But if not?..."

"They will take our income from us—so instead of building 10 instrument plants, we will build 1 or 2. But tell me, who will lose: the cooperative, or the country? You see, they will lift the decree!"

According to my observations, by no means all the delegates were so optimistic. But the cooperative congress adopted a message to the USSR Supreme Soviet unanimously, to tumultuous applause. This document points out to deputies that the current change in tax rates is contrary to the law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" (which says that taxes will be set for at least 5 years, whereas not much more than a year has elapsed), destabilizes the socioeconomic situation in the country, and damages the cooperative movement that is just emerging in the USSR—the fruit of perestroyka.

Two days later, on Monday, the president of the union, USSR People's Deputy V. Tikhonov, read out this appeal at a joint session of the Supreme Soviet chambers.

Well, let us see what the deputies say when they receive the unfortunate decree for ratification.

But this is what springs to mind: This confrontation between cooperatives and government organs could have been avoided back in February. The congress also showed that in principle many cooperative workers agree that taxes can and should be differentiated, depending on the types of activity by the cooperatives. It is only a question of **what** taxes to set for **which** cooperatives. The cooperative workers have their own opinion about this. But who asked them? Like the last decree, this decree on taxation was prepared in secret from those whom these documents directly concern. As if we were preparing to wage a war, but against whom?

And what is the outcome? Belorussia is today threatened with the loss of many cooperatives, which are intending to move their firms to the Baltic region, leaving only subsidiaries at home. In any event, a Belorussian representative at the congress quite seriously asked his colleagues from the Baltic for help in such a move. Along with the cooperatives' central offices, the taxes will also "move," according to the law. It is not impossible that the Belorussians' example will be infectious for certain cooperatives in other republics too....

But here it is necessary to deviate from the reporting genre. I cannot shake off the impression that many delegates' speeches were not so much based on logic and facts as on emotion, so that not only is the parliamentary tone not adhered to, but elementary concepts are muddled and targets for criticism are selected without analysis or investigation.

True, you could hardly expect anything else from the **first** congress of the cooperative system, which is only just finding its way in the country's uncharted expanses, encountering many obstacles, both natural and artificial, as it goes along. But the speakers had virtually no opponents. The leaders of the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Justice, State Planning Committee, State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, and other union departments on which the life and development of the cooperative system now depend did not deem it necessary to send representatives to the congress—capable specialists who could correctly analyze the situation and enter into a principled debate. Clearly "residual thinking" played a part here: Not only did they not want to listen to the cooperative workers—they did not want to speak with them, either.

Yet dialogue is necessary at every level: union, republican, local. It is possible and necessary to find a common language with the cooperative workers, if you are guided not by personal ambition, but by the common good.

In some places this is already happening, contacts are being established. In Latvia, for instance, a draft decree on taxation was prepared with the direct participation of the cooperative workers themselves, and the government was able to find a common language with the leaders of the republican union. Although some items in the "Latvian" decree may seem considerably worse than the "Belorussian" ones.

Decrees were prepared in the same way in Estonia and Lithuania.

The governments' respectful attitude toward business circles in their republics had a by-product, too: The Baltic cooperatives, for the most part, are not pushing up prices in pursuit of short-term advantage. They are confident that the cooperative system here is for real, and to stay. Hence the population's attitude to the cooperatives, which is, as Kh. Verkhoviskis, chairman of the Latvian union, put it, "constructive."

Alas, there is too little of this in other regions of the country.

"We all watched the live broadcasts of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies," A. Fedorov, chairman of the Moscow Cooperatives Union and founder of the famous cafe on Kropotkinskaya, said. "From what we saw and heard, we can draw this conclusion: In the next 2-3 years the country's economic situation will not improve substantially, and the goods famine will not be overcome. Therefore social tension will increase in the country—and the cooperative workers will suffer first. We already have examples of this: 2 months ago 17 cooperatives were destroyed in Nebit-Daga; during recent events in Fergana 11 cooperatives were destroyed; in Novyy Uzen 27 cooperatives were destroyed and 11 cooperative workers were killed. Why? They accuse us of setting high prices, but the customer, the client does not know what these prices are based on, he does not know that the cooperatives obtain raw materials and equipment with huge markups, that the cooperative worker pays through the nose for everything...."

That is one opinion. There is another—expressed in the message to the country's cooperatives adopted by the congress. It says: "...The congress notes with concern such negative phenomena in the cooperative sphere as greed, the seizing of short-term advantage, unscrupulousness toward one's commitments.... The congress calls on cooperative workers to make their contribution to overcoming crisis phenomena and lessening tension on the consumer market...to consider it their duty to give selfless assistance to the sick, the disabled, orphans, the elderly...."

These two problems exist in the cooperative system: lack of understanding from "above," and a cautious, sometimes hostile attitude from "below." And the new union has to tackle both problems.

"We want to establish dialogue with government organs and tackle the country's economic problems together," A. Tarasov, chairman of the "Tekhnika" cooperative, who was elected one of the union's vice presidents, said. "But there is another task, too: to win the population's respect and trust. Through publicity and propaganda of everything good in the cooperative system, but most of all through good work...."

That is what we will expect from the united cooperative workers—good work.

Gorbachev, Others Sign Panasenko Obituary

*PM0808105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Obituary of Taras Ivanovich Panasenko]

[Excerpts] USSR People's Deputy Taras Ivanovich Panasenko, first secretary of the Rovno Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, died 4 August 1989 after a serious illness.

T.I. Panasenko was born 15 February 1930 in Kozatskoye village, Zvenigorodskiy Rayon, Cherkassy Oblast, into a peasant family. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnkikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, B.K. Pugo, N.Ye. Kruchina, V.S. Babichev, Ye.Z. Razumov, A.Ya. Vinnik, I.A. Gerasimov, I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, V.A. Ivashko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, V.S. Shevchenko, S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.D. Kryuchkov, K.I. Masik, Ya.P. Pogrebyak, V.I. Lutsenko, A.A. Popik, P.K. Prishchepa, K.K. Serykh, N.P. Tkachuk.

Individual Personal Computer Import Duty Lifted

*PM0808134589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Computers—Duty-Free"]

[Text] In connection with a series of inquiries, a TASS correspondent was told at the Main Administration for State Customs Control under the USSR Council of Ministers that the new Rules Governing the Importing and Exporting of Items by Citizens will come into operation 15 August 1989.

As far as personal computers are concerned, the new system comes into effect 1 August. In accordance with it, Soviet citizens will be able to import personal computers acquired with currency that has been legally obtained. No duty will be levied.

The Main Administration for State Customs Control under the USSR Council of Ministers will supply fuller information on the procedure for importing other items through the media in the very near future.

Need for Changes in Communist Party Viewed

*PM2308134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Article by A. Masyagin under the rubric "Party and Perestroyka": "With the People, Not Above Them"]

[Text] The entire course of events has now advanced talk about the party to the center of public debate. The party itself is vitally interested in it and Communists expect it and pin their hopes on it. And it is obvious to everyone that correct answers to the questions which arise can be found only as a result of truly collective discussion. It would be a return to the old way to expect that the truth will again be presented readymade from above where, as past experience attests, it was known even before the start of any debate.

What can be done to overcome the CPSU's "lag" behind the dynamically developing processes in society? The majority of people see the answer to this question in the need for the broad and consistent democratization of the life of the party. It is hard to raise any objection to that. The development and enrichment of internal party democracy can hardly be stopped at any time because life and the conditions of the party's activity are constantly changing.

But it is reasonable to ask: But surely a lot has already been done to develop party democracy since the start of perestroyka? Surely many norms have been proclaimed and officially approved opening up scope for democratic development in the party? Or do we not have the inspiring example of the 19th party conference? Do we not ultimately have in our country a situation making it possible to act in a revolutionary manner: When rights are not given people take them? And after all that must we raise again and again the question of the development of internal party democracy making it dependent on the adoption of ever new decisions, rules, and instructions?

Obviously some objective reason is operating which, despite everything, is hindering the flowering of internal party democracy and obstinately holding it back. In my view the point here is that the seeds of democratization are falling on soil which has been dried out by the administrative-edict system. And this soil has not yet been sufficiently reclaimed for the mass shoots of new crops to be able to appear on it.

Who today does not mention in his speeches the administrative-edict system. Nonetheless on neither the scientific nor the political plane is there yet a detailed description of this unique system.

In my view the administrative-edict system is an unusually integral formation, truly "forged from a single piece of steel." The union and interchangeability of apparatuses—the party, soviet, and economic apparatuses—exists in it. Matters with regard to cadres are in fact the same.... An all-embracing centralization of the political, ideological, organizational, and economic leadership has been

achieved—with no special concern for the efficiency of feedback but with the merciless exploitation of slogans about the consolidation of ties with the masses. The aims and methods are similar if not identical and freely change place: The party resorts to directly managerial functions and the economic organs can declare any question to be political.

One more characteristic element. Production and its buildup act as the main goal, the main content of people's lives and activity. The solution of social questions becomes merely a product of this. The main forming factor is the plan, gross output, or "valovka." The fulfillment of the plan (the means is of secondary significance here) ensures recognition and benefits for cadres and labor collectives. In life, of course, there are countless nuances but the backbone of the administrative-edict system is just like this.

The party's position in the administrative-edict system was a dual one. On the one hand it was a kind of motive force for the system because it represented the political and ideological element in it. But on the other hand the party became as it were the prisoner of this system because it was obliged to adapt to it. And as a result it lost the freedom of maneuver it needs and gradually lost a number of the features characterizing it as a special social institution in our society.

Above all the party organizations lost their political independence while the party committees also lost the autonomy they need so much. All kinds of vigorous and nonstandard actions by the party organizations were restricted once and for all in production by the plan and in the spiritual sphere by ideological instructions regulated "to the last millimeter." Surely this cannot accord to any degree with the party's nature as a political organization? Of course not. V.I. Lenin was already demanding that the party organizations "steer their party line under all conditions, in all circumstances, in every possible situation, and influence their environment in the spirit of the entire party and not allow the environment to swallow them up."

So that "the environment should not swallow you up" you must always have the courage to rise above circumstances, to have your own view untroubled by departmentalism, localistic preference, or a shred of selfishness. That means in practice opposing a plan which is blatantly unrealistic and whose fulfillment is impossible without overreporting and without some manipulations or other. It means not agreeing with the solution of social questions being placed, as it has for decades, "behind" production questions, as though it were something noncompulsory and secondary. It means insisting on ending the production of output which is obviously just ending up in the warehouse. It means opposing the thriftlessness and slovenliness and mass pilfering and plundering which have infected whole sectors of the national economy....

It would not matter if all these negative phenomena had remained in the past. But why even today are there many party organizations which seem to fail to notice them and are in fact absent in the arena of social struggle?

The progress of restructuring should evidently be measured not only by the implementation of particular reforms and the proclamation of new ones. It must also be assessed by how far the destruction of the administrative-edict system has progressed, especially in the economy and especially in the grassroots. Yet the changes here are minimal. By the second half of 1989 according to the figures of the State Committee for Statistics about 3,000 industrial enterprises had switched to the second model of economic accountability [khozraschet] which of itself, as many economists note, is far from ideal. According to the same figures only hundreds or even dozens of enterprises in various sectors have started to work under lease conditions. And here we cannot fail to recall that in our country there are tens and hundreds of thousands of enterprises in the national economy. In general the pressure of the changes is great but the existing system is displaying great "tenacity." The axe is sharp but the bough also has big teeth, as they say.

The destruction of the administrative-edict system from above is being implemented in a blatantly timid and inconsistent way. At the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session this was one of the leading topics. Now life itself is pushing us forward, actively blowing up this system from below, too. That is now the central question for the primary party organizations. When the labor collective becomes the master of its enterprise, the Communists also become the masters of their party organization. Yes, party members can acquire freedom as a result of the working people's actions. But it would be more correct if this were the other way around. In any event delay here is fraught with grave consequences. An example is the events in the Kuzbass, Donbass, and elsewhere.

We are surprised now that the discussion of production questions still dominates meetings in primary party organizations. But should we be surprised? For decades they were essentially cut off from the discussion of the real point of social processes and of everything taking place beyond the walls of their production citadels. Here even the discussion of particular general party documents did not save the situation. For instance, what is the worth of Central Committee plenums which for decades—either in October or in November—examined with striking consistency one and the same question: effectiveness and quality and the consolidation of every kind of discipline.

It seems to me that the actual use of the right of control over the administration's economic activity has bound and continues to bind the party organizations to the administrative-edict system because in practice it is a rare discussion of production questions which does not end with the organizations' direct assumption of economic and managerial concerns. And who can remember even one example of the party organization of a ministry or department using its right to control the work of the apparatus to oppose even one decision with all the pernicious signs of departmentalism or window dressing? Therefore there is every grounds for considering whether under present conditions it is necessary to retain this right of the party organizations in the statutes which will be changed by the 28th CPSU Congress.

The attitude of many party organizations toward the processes generated by perestroyka is not always "welcoming," to say no more. After all, from the positions of past experience nearly everything born of perestroyka gives rise to doubts.

For instance, the people's fronts movements. It has acquired a mass nature and has a tremendous response in a number of places. But when you are thinking in terms of former stereotypes how are you to treat this if it is perhaps a structure opposed to the party which is being prepared? And how to support a movement for cooperative and leasing if this "undermines the basic foundation—state ownership" and will therefore "probably" generate social inequality and bring other misfortunes? (Although it would seem that state monopoly of ownership has not lead to prosperity). And how to take charge of the processes of national resurrection if "nationalist" mines have been laid here whichever way you turn? These mines are already appearing to explode on their own anyway....

It is possible to argue about the interpretation of attitudes toward these processes but one thing is undisputed: As long as ambivalence, lack of confidence, and fluctuations and even worse hypocrisy, which the people instantly recognize a mile off, are manifested, then the authority of the party organizations among the masses will not grow. It will be hard for Communists to take a specific position. And this position, after all, does not mean unconditional approval of all aspects of particular processes. It can also imply criticism of everything extremist, everything alien. But the main thing nonetheless is that coherence is needed. In Lenin's words, "to help the waverers we must stop wavering ourselves." It is also becoming clear that the attitude toward all new underlying processes and not only to the facts and events in which they are manifested should be reflected in the CPSU program and statutes.

It seems to me that the party's so-called lag by no means signifies that it must be ahead of all processes and head them. There is no belittling of the party's role here, nothing detrimental to it. The people are above the party. And the party, as part of the people, should realize that. It should always be with the people, and not above them. And where Communists represent the party they are called on to comprise the most organized, aware, honest, fair, and industrious nucleus of any processes and movements.

To play their consolidating role, and this role is now being promoted to the fore in our society, the party organizations must unfailingly act by political methods, assimilate in practice the concepts of strategy and tactics, and embark on cooperation, agreements, and accords. Here it is essential to overcome many stereotypes which have taken shape. Nostalgia for the past, the attraction toward "order" and obsolete forms of work contain an enormous danger to the party, which has embarked on the transformation of a society which has already taken shape. Here it is useful to recall F. Engels' advice: "The party...should find its laws only in its living, constantly changing needs. If it prefers to subordinate these needs to old, already ossified and defunct solutions, it is digging its own grave."

In considering, like many other Communists, the fate of the party and its specific critical state, I reach the following conclusion. There is an urgent need to review the idea entrenched in people's minds that our party has always developed along a single line and has always moved upward. This idea prevents the establishment of the truth, which is that during its history, under the influence of the complex processes and tragic cataclysms of which our society already know enough, the party itself was able to change its nature. That is why it is now faced with a great task—acquiring a new quality. Its ideological premises, methods and forms of work, principles for selecting people for the party, and mutual relations with state and public organizations and mass movements are in need of renewal. The CPSU must rapidly scale the new height established by perestroyka and unprecedented events. There is virtually no time for such drastic activation, but this must be done come what may. Otherwise events will proceed without the party or by "bypassing" it.

In this connection it seems to me that fundamental importance attaches to M.S. Gorbachev's proposal voiced 18 July at the conference in the CPSU Central Committee to the effect that it is essential for each party organization to elaborate a program of actions, to embark perhaps on the creation of committees in defense of perestroyka. In other words, it is time finally on every sector to radically activate the party organizations and Communists.

And this task is feasible. The party has an enormous potential. Yes, there is no doubt that the load of historical responsibility for the past, for the tragic and terrible events, for the lost years, oppresses the reason and conscience of every honest Communist. Even if he believes that much that is good has been done and that the heroic pages cannot be cancelled out. There is one explanation: The paths of revolution are nonetheless unexplored. There is one justification: The Communists too suffered everything which fell to the lot of the people and today things are as hard for them as they are for everyone.

And nonetheless I am convinced that the enormous majority of Communists retain loyalty to the party's banner and ideals. They believe that society will see in this organization the bearer of a bright, just, human principle, the selfless defender of the interests of people and the fraternity of the peoples. We must boldly rely on this faith and justify it.

Readers Assess Party Role in Perestroyka

18001531 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 2

[Letters from readers under the heading: "The Party in Perestroyka, Perestroyka in the Party"]

[Text]**Contradictions, Contradictions....**

There is a very great deal in the new course of the CPSU that is not understandable and cannot be reconciled in any way. First of all, ideological contradictions are apparent—a real stumbling block which, I am afraid, will trip up perestroyka. The CPSU statute says that every party member has a duty to combat "private-ownership mentality." How can this be reconciled with the endless quoting of Lenin's words about the system of civilized cooperative members? Or with the statement of Lenin that NEP [New Economic Policy] is a serious, long-range endeavor?... The ultimate goal of the CPSU, as laid down in its program, is to build a communist society. Through the use of what is it going to be built—through the use of farmer ownership, shares, stock exchange, competition, and individual labor activities?

I can imagine how the ideological functionaries feel!... Times are changing and this is only natural, but why should they stubbornly search for more or less suitable quotations "on the topic of the day?"

[Signed] S. Gorbatov, Belgorod

They Are Not Seeking Advantages

Those who are currently leaving the party are not the ones for whom it has become disadvantageous to belong to it, but the uncompromising and militant people whom the party system hinders rather than helps in implementing the ideas of perestroyka. I know personally many such people whom the party "put in their place" and "had their wings clipped" as soon as they began to go "beyond the limits." This was the case in all periods of the reigns of Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev.

I believe that the party, initially militant and democratic and a worker-peasant party, has gradually swollen beyond all measure and has rotted through hopelessly, turning into a party of rulers, a party of the administrative-command class. It has led us to our current, sorry present time, although it promised to lead us to a bright future. Only after the miners' strikes have they begun to talk cautiously about the hindering role of the local apparatus, about everything hinging on the cadres, about an out-of-turn reports-and-elections campaign being necessary. No, resolute surgical measures are needed; a purge is needed! [Signed] V. Lukyanov, Naberezhnye Chelny

Who Is in Favor of Two Parties?

I propose to initiate a discussion on dividing the CPSU into two ruling parties.

The supreme objective of both parties will be to build a communist society since both of the newly formed parties will originate in the CPSU.

[Signed] N. Kachyzumov, Zagorsk, Moscow Oblast

Commentator Urges Enterprises To Leave Ministries

18200444 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 2

["Opinion" by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA commentator Pavel Volin: "A Plant Is Leaving the Ministry"]

[Text] I heard the first response to the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet according to which enterprises have acquired the right to determine their place in the structure of the national economy themselves—to leave the associations and even ministries—immediately after the broadcast of the video recording of proceedings at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses ended on TV. A friend called me:

"What now? Will ministries be left in our country or not?"

...Listening to the speech of Academician Abalkin at the Supreme Soviet session, I recalled our conversation approximately half a year ago. I asked him on that occasion about his attitude toward the elimination of ministries.

"I have been thinking about this a lot recently, and have become convinced: If we keep the management of industry through ministries, we will not succeed in changing anything. After all, if we say that they are responsible for the fulfillment of plans by enterprises, the ministries will squeeze that very plan out of them by hook or by crook. All of democracy and independence will count for nothing. However, the ministries will not eliminate themselves. This is why we need determination in changes, we need political and civil courage. I understand that this is not that easy, but it is necessary," responded Leonid Ivanovich.

However, permission for enterprises to leave the ministries does not abolish the latter by itself. Now everything depends on the labor collectives. If in their quest to become independent they begin to lease their enterprises and one by one use their right to abandon "home managers," there will be nothing for the ministry to do but to abolish itself. After all, sooner or later nobody will be left out there to give orders to. However, I doubt that the enterprises, proceeding from the present law on their status, will run away in all directions from their masters all at once, and the latter will have to wind down willy-nilly. Indeed, they were not free under the roof of the ministries, but nonetheless they were well-fed, so to speak, and had shoes and clothes to wear. If you get out from under this roof you are risking being left without even a shirt on your back, and not because you do not have anything to buy it with, but because there is nowhere to buy it. If there were wholesale trade in machinery and materials, there would not be an issue.

However, there is no such trade. Everything is distributed through the quota system; everything is in the hands of managing ministries. You may be sure they will try to give nothing to those who have left them in order to prove: Without us, you would not know your way. This was the case, for example, with the Leningrad enterprises which left the ministries for two independent concerns, one machinebuilding and the other chemical. They had to go through a lot of suffering inflicted by their former guardians despite ultimately proving that they do know their way.

Therefore, amendments and additions to the Law on the Enterprise adopted by the Supreme Soviet amount to a different degree of freedom for labor collectives only in principle. Wholesale trade in the means of production is needed, vitally needed in order for it to turn from a speculative possibility into comprehensive practice, as the renewed law has reminded us yet again. In its absence, the technical right to leave the ministries will remain a beautiful statement, a theoretical "gadget," a nice dream—anything at all, but not a key to the "gates of heaven."

The expected report by Yu.D. Maslyukov, Gosplan [State Planning Committee] chairman and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, gave rise to some hopes. The report was worded in a very promising manner: On new approaches and parameters....

Indeed, at first it gave the impression that the views in the office which Comrade Maslyukov heads had changed radically. The shift in emphasis to accumulation by sharply reducing capital investment and Group A production, a preference for social programs—all of that sounded fresh and was unlike what we have become accustomed to hearing from the heads of Gosplan. However, as soon as the person making the speech referred to the market of the means of production, familiar motifs sounded. Having acknowledged the actual inactivity of this market, he said that he sees the reason for it "...not in the lack of dispatch on the part of some leading organs...but rather in the objective difficulties we happen to encounter in the process of developing a socialist market." A customary list of reasons which, according to him, aggravate these difficulties followed—shortages, low quality, extravagance, mismanagement—as well as the conclusion that the process of market development may only proceed "in stages." It cannot be "created overnight, and...all ropes and levers of control of the national economy cannot be relinquished by centralized state management." How long have we been hearing this? For 5, 10, 20 years! Where are the "new approaches and parameters" with regard to wholesale trade in the means of production?

Therefore, one deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers offered a way to rid the enterprises of the oppressive power of ministries, perhaps not the most direct way, and with reservations, but a way nonetheless. Following him, another insisted on conditions under which this way is extremely difficult. How is the situation to be assessed? How is this lack of consistency to be explained?

Over 900 industrial enterprises have already been leased by the labor collectives. The right to leave the ministries which they have received, and the opportunity to thus gain complete freedom in economic management give rise to hopes. Yes, indeed wholesale trade in the means of production is necessary to this end. However, if many of them, a majority, all!—embark on this path, the market will definitely develop. It cannot but develop: Independent units will unavoidably start looking for partners. However, this calls for determination. Somebody has got to be first.

Labor Disputes Require 'Legal Mechanism'

18001533 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 31 31 Jul-6 Aug 89 p 5

[Article by Semen Ivanov, chief of the labor law section of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member of the committee of experts of the International Labor Organization: "The Strike and the Law"]

[Text] ...Our legislation does not regulate the right to strike, despite any forms of social protest by toilers apparently having to be the focus of attention of society and legislators under socialism. The absence of such norms brings about representatives of the ministries, offices, government, and the party, and at the highest level at that, up to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Supreme Soviet, being drawn into resolving disputed issues during the very first major strike by the miners of the Kuzbass. However, such a method of resolving disputes should be the exception rather than the rule. The normal practice is to create a legislative mechanism for settling collective labor disputes, including the regulation of strikes. Indisputably, the absence of such a mechanism is a major gap in our legislation. It appears that at present we are beginning to recognize the entire complexity of adopting a relevant law.

Developing a law always is a complicated endeavor. After all, such a law cannot be a simple matter because it affects the most significant constitutional rights of a majority of the populace of the country. There are too many underwater currents in this problem which will become apparent only upon diligent examination.

If the law in question (it has already been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet) is to be able to solve the problems raised it should reflect issues such as the notion, subject, and parties to a collective labor dispute; reconciliation organs and the status of their decisions; the right to a strike as an extreme measure in resolving labor conflicts which is undesirable for the state; attitude toward strikes on political, nationality, and other grounds; responsibility for participation in an illegal strike; economic and social consequences of work stoppages. Naturally, this enumeration of issues in need of a solution is far from exhaustive. Life brings up still more new issues.

Now that the word "strike" no longer makes us dumbfounded, the question is heard increasingly often: How do they manage to resolve labor conflicts abroad? This is not the result of idle curiosity, but of a desire to make use of everything in settling labor conflicts that may turn out to be useful under our conditions upon studying the experience of foreign countries. In this reference, mentioning the words of V.I. Lenin is in order; he wrote: "Everything that there is in the literature and experience of West European countries in defending the toilers should be definitely used."

The ways of settling collective labor disputes and regulating strikes in capitalist countries vary; this is due to their legal systems, specific social and economic conditions, traditions of the workers' movement, and so forth. At the same time, a lot may be found in this variety that is in common. What is it?

First of all, it is the presence of a legal mechanism for settling collective labor disputes, which includes organs for the peaceful resolution of disputes and regulation of strikes. The issue is that the legislature envisages a "pre-strike" attempt to settle the dispute through direct negotiations between the toilers and the entrepreneurs, through searching for a compromise and mutually acceptable solutions through mediators or arbiters. Legal duties of this nature are now increasingly uncommon, but the practice takes this very path—toilers frequently refrain from strikes, preferring reconciliation and arbitration procedures.

Reconciliation organs are very widespread, and they vary widely. In France, they consist of an equal number of representatives of the parties to a dispute, the toilers and the entrepreneurs, who are called upon to come to an agreement on their own. Creating such organs is envisaged in collective contracts, and their decisions have the effect of such a contract.

State intervention is usually ruled out. It occurs only in the cases when the creation of a reconciliation organ is not envisaged by the collective contract.

Along with this, taking the case to a mediator who is called upon to settle the dispute is practiced in France. The mediator is selected by the parties to the dispute by mutual consent. If there is no consent, the mediator is appointed by the Ministry of Labor from among impartial and competent persons. The recommendations of a mediator carry moral weight; the parties are free to accept or not to accept them. However, once adopted, the recommendations also acquire the effect of a collective contract.

On the contrary, in the United States reconciliation is carried out with the assistance of the state by a specially created organ: Federal Reconciliation and Mediation Service. Along with the state organ, a private organ exists—the American Association of Mediators and Arbiters, which is also involved in settling collective labor disputes.

The format of arbitration organs varies. For example, in France there is the Supreme Court of Arbitration, in Great Britain—the Central Committee of Arbitration. Usually, disputes are referred to the organs of arbitration when no mutually acceptable solution has been found in the reconciliation and mediation organs. However, this sequence is not mandatory everywhere. I believe that the procedures of reconciliation and arbitration, which have acquitted themselves well in the West, could be used under our circumstances without replicating these organs to the letter, but taking into account the peculiarities of our socio-economic and legal system. This is the essence of one of the main problems in creating a mechanism for resolving collective labor disputes in our country.

Incidentally, referring to the reconciliation organs in a majority of countries is not mandatory. At any rate, legislative duress is encountered relatively seldom—that is, as a rule, a preliminary conflict resolution is envisaged by collective contracts. Mandatory arbitration as the universal means of solving collective labor disputes exists at present in only one developed capitalist country—Australia. In other countries, it applies only to particular categories of employees, for example, employees of state railroads.

Be that as it may, the general trend at present is toward asserting a voluntary referral by the parties to a conflict. This is encouraged by an ILO [International Labor Organization] document which is likewise entitled: "Recommendations on Voluntary Reconciliation and Arbitration."

Presumption of confidence of the parties to a conflict in the organs of reconciliation, mediation, and arbitration is the foundation for this approach. As foreign experience suggests, the problem of confidence is the pivotal issue in setting up a mechanism for considering collective labor disputes. It is impossible to settle a dispute without resolving this issue. Otherwise, the parties will not bring in the reconciliation and arbitration organs, or, having brought them in, will not comply with their decisions. Naturally, strikes are inevitable in such a situation.

Regulating strikes is another major problem, because the attitude toward them by all social strata is far from unambiguous, and this may affect the development of the law.

The bourgeois legislation on regulating strikes has much in common; however, there are many differences as well.

The common thread is primarily in recognizing the right to strike. The point of departure for this is that strikes are a natural manifestation of normal life activities of society. Despite the difficulties they cause for the toilers, they facilitate the improvement of their situation, streamlining what the lawyers call labor relations, and removing social tension, because they provide an outlet for the accumulated dissatisfaction of the people.

The forms of recognizing the right to strike differ. In some countries, it is set forth in the constitution (France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Japan), and in others, in legislation (the United States, New Zealand), and in yet others, it is derived from the common law (Great Britain, Canada). Quite frequently, it is acknowledged as one of the most significant trade union rights (Austria, Belgium, the FRG).

While widely acknowledged, the right to strike is not absolute anywhere. It is restricted to some degree in all countries.

The first major group of restrictions applies to the employees of state services where work stoppages endanger the life, health, and safety of citizens. For example, strikes by air traffic controllers, firefighters, hospital employees, and telephone exchange and power station employees are prohibited. The application of reconciliation and arbitration procedures is mandatory if collective disputes develop in this sphere.

The second group of restrictions involves political strikes. Such restrictions are very common. We can refer to the United States and Great Britain as examples.

At the same time, an effort to narrow restrictions is increasingly apparent in the international arena. The point is not to ban political strikes as such, but to ban "purely political" strikes, i.e., such which are in no way associated with professional demands (wages, conditions on the job, and so forth). This trend is most apparent in France.

From the point of view of economic and political consequences for society, strikes differ among themselves. This is why in a number of countries intervention by authorities in settling a labor conflict is practiced, all the way to using armed forces. In France, "civilian mobilization" is permissible which is used with regard to the employees of air transportation, miners, and some other enterprises meeting "the higher needs of the nation." In every specific case, a government resolution is issued which imposes on the citizens the duty to continue working. In the United States, "presidential seizures" of enterprises are practiced, as a result of which the latter begin to be managed by the government.

However, cases of this nature are an exception. The authorities resort to intervention infrequently because these actions cause a negative reaction inside the country and abroad.

The norm included in the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, according to which the right to strike should be implemented "in keeping with the laws of a given country" is considered to be commonly accepted in foreign countries. This is not to say that a state which has ratified the pact is entitled to pass a law which will forbid rather than allow strikes.

The pact means democratic laws which, in my opinion, satisfy the needs of the modern workers' and trade union movement.

Criteria for the laws on strikes, as well as those on the rights of trade unions, protection of labor, and wages, which are referred to in the pact, are found in the documents of the ILO. As far as the strikes are concerned, at issue is Convention No 87 on the freedom of associations and defense of the right to organize, which, incidentally, has been ratified by our country. Proceeding from the materials on its application in various countries, the ILO organs have developed rules which give a complete idea of how the right to strike should be implemented. The states are called upon to comply with them, despite these being merely rules rather than a legal obligation. Any violation of the right to strike in a state which has ratified the convention (there are many such violations) is regarded as a restriction on the right of trade unions to freely organize their activities and set forth their action program.

The point is that, as a rule, trade unions come out on the side of the toilers in collective labor conflicts. They also play the main role in in organizing and conducting strikes. Their role is so commonly recognized that in some countries, for example, the United States and the FRG, strikes organized without the participation of a trade union are considered illegal. However, it is necessary to have truly militant trade unions which reliably defend the rights and interests of workers in order for such a rule to be recognized by society.

In this reference, one recalls the recent events in the Kuzbass and the Donbass where the miners created strike or job-action committees and entrusted them with leading the strike. This happened because many trade union committees have lost their significance in expressing and defending the interests of the working masses as the latter see it. As journalists testify, the authority of trade union committees turned out to be negligible compared to that of strike committees.

To my mind, this entire experience should be taken into account when we create a mechanism for resolving collective labor disputes which could be based on two organs—a reconciliation commission and labor arbitration. On the whole, the mechanism appears to be considerably more complex.

A reconciliation commission set up at enterprises when a dispute develops should consist of an equal number of representatives of the management, and, if necessary, the superior management organ, and the employees involved in the dispute. Replacing the latter by representatives of the trade union committee, which is not a party to the dispute, will unavoidably bring about the loss of confidence in the commission. As a result, its work will turn out to be useless not only for the toilers, but for the enterprise as well.

Labor arbitration is an organ called upon to consider a dispute if coming to an agreement in the reconciliation commission is impossible. It may be set up at the Supreme Court of a union or autonomous republic or oblast (city) court; I think that it may be a separate state organ. If referring the case to a reconciliation commission under our conditions is mandatory, the referral to arbitration should be voluntary. However, the parties to a dispute should agree ahead of time to recognize the decisions of arbitration when referring the case to it.

I have always believed that mediation procedures are useful. At any stage of consideration of a dispute, the parties could bring in a mediator in order to search for a mutually acceptable solution. Leading specialist-practitioners and research associates in the sphere of labor (economists, sociologists, lawyers) could become mediators.

The time limits for considering the case in the commission, in arbitration, or by a mediator should be short, the shorter the better. During the period of consideration of the dispute, the toilers refrain from going on strike.

As far as the right to strike is concerned, it should be legalized. However, this right should not be boundless. It is desirable to establish the framework for the implementation of this right in keeping with international standards, using the best of foreign experience.

Researchers Comment on Draft Associations Law

PM2308153489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 20 Aug 89 p 12

[Nina Belyayeva article: "Form Unions According to the Law. An Attempt at an Open Commentary on a Hushed-Up Draft Law"]

[Text] The previous bill on self-supporting associations drafted by the Ministry of Justice (with representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Procurator's Office, the Supreme Court and of other juridical organizations, as well as of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League taking part) is known to have been actually killed. All-pervasive members of independent groups wangled out the text of the bill which was strictly confidential. They held a series of public discussions to expose the bill's "prohibitory" nature serving to place public organizations under even greater control than in the current legislation passed in the 1930s.

The new text of the bill has not been published either. It is only accessible to experts who are now studying it. The opinion of a team of researchers of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the bill is given below.

The bill has been drafted in line with the command-and-administer traditions. It grants the state practically unlimted powers to interfere with the activities of public associations and to bring in a multitude of undemocratic restrictions. For example the rights of people to freely define objectives of their associations are supplanted by objectives set by the state. The bill provides for a literally all-pervading presence of the state in public associations. It provides for the right of state bodies to decide on matters "affecting the interests" of public associations. One of the clauses says that public associations' activities can be determined by "acts adopted by the ministries, state committees and other agencies". Government institutions can even act as "founders" (sic) of public organizations, to put forward initiatives to form independent public organizations which quarrels with both the democratic principles and elementary logic.

The bill contradicts the international commitments of the USSR. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in particular, gives an exhaustive list of the limitations which the exercise of rights and freedoms (including the right to freedom of peaceful association) is subject to. Expanding this list ("the undermining of territorial integrity", etc.) is inadmissible. Equally inadmissible is the imposing of limitations for the purpose of securing protection for enterprises or government institutions whose activities often contravene the interests of citizenry and society and are something many ecological and other public associations fight against.

The bill ignores current realities and practicies. It ignores, for example, the fact that there are many organizations of people of like trades, professions and arts being formed which are not allied to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions or any existing union of creative people, and public economic organizations which channel their profits to charity instead of dividing them amongst their members. Judging by the text of the bill, such organizations are not covered by the proposed law. If one considers that also uncovered by the bill are the Communist Party, professional unions, the Komsomol, creative unions and religious associations, the area the bill does cover is narrow and ill-defined. At the same time organizations not covered by the Law are in a more advantageous position than the newly formed ones.

The general conclusion is that the above faults make it impossible to take the bill in the present shape to the USSR Supreme Soviet. According to professors K. Sheremet, I. Azovkin, and O. Kolbasov of the Institute of State and Law, no amendments would help the bill. The bad job can't be patched up legalwise. What's been offered? A new concept of the law whose essence is contained in this preamble.

"Implementing the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements signed by the USSR and providing for peaceful associations of citizens, the Soviet state encourages the setting up by its citizens of public initiative associations.

"Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to form public organizations, movements and independent public bodies to identify and represent in the political sphere the interests of the different groups of the population and to revived the foundations of civic society."

Scientists are ready to draft an alternative bill proceeding from the principle that there should be a sensible limit to government interference in citizens' independent public activities, but not from the principle of limiting such independence by the state on which, essentially, the already prepared bill is based.

Deputy Minister Writes Letter on Power Stations

PM0808154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Letter from A. Dyakov, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, under the rubric "Letters on Ecology": "The Ministry Replies: 'GES's, GRES's, and Nature'"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification by and large shares the opinion voiced by the author of the letter entitled "Hydroelectric Power Stations [GES's], State Regional Electric Power Stations [GRES's], and Nature" (PRAVDA, 13 July). Any large-scale economic activity by man inevitably entails adverse consequences. It is the task of power engineering specialists to minimize them as far as possible.

It is proposed to transfer the construction of GES's to the mountainous eastern regions of the USSR, where more than 90 percent of all the country's water power resources are concentrated, in order to eliminate the unfavorable environmental consequences of setting up GES's. This would reduce the proportionate (per kilowatt) area of reservoirs by a factor of approximately 3 and by a factor of 10 in agricultural areas.

There are plans to equip existing electric power stations and those under construction as of 1991 with sulfur and nitrogen purification units, effective ash collectors, and effluent treatment units in order to resolve a whole series of technical and environmental problems involved in the development of thermal power engineering, which will be the prevailing source of power in the next 15-20 years. These questions will be resolved when modernizing and retooling heat and electric power stations [TETS's].

The development of fundamentally new technologies for environmentally clean fuel combustion has begun. Ten alternative options have been selected on a competitive basis for the development of new GRES and TETS projects using four types of coal from the Kansk-Achinsk, Ekibastuz, Kuznetsk, and Donetsk basins. A number of interesting technical solutions have been proposed, including installations with gasification of coal, boilers with "fluidized" bed furnaces, and gas-vapor units.

At the same time environmental problems cannot be resolved without an improvement in the quality of the coal and its enrichment. The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification believes that the level of enrichment of the coal supplied to TETS's by 2000 must total no less than 500 million tonnes per year.

As for the question of using biomass, its application in large-scale power engineering has not been given sufficient scientific study.

Frolov Answers Questions on Marxist Philosophy

PM0808104589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Question-and-answer session between Pugwash Movement activists and Academician I. Frolov reported by special correspondent P. Polozhevets: "For Joy or Woe?" 'If You Say That Marxism Is the Ultimate Philosophy, Prove It: That Is the Only Way To Win People's Trust,' Says Academician I. Frolov"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Young scientists are increasingly alarmed about our future—the global problems of civilization. Will we be able to survive, preserving our common home—the Earth, which already bears so many open wounds—and is there no way we can stop this? More and more young researchers are becoming active members of the Pugwash Movement of Scientists for Peace, Disarmament, International Security, and Scientific Cooperation. On the eve of its annual conference, which is being held in the United States, activists of the movement met with Academician I. Frolov. The discussion lasted several hours. We offer our readers the most interesting moments from that meeting. [passage omitted]

[Question] What does Marxism mean to you?

[Frolov] I start by formulating Marxism as real humanism. And then everything I speak of is for me a logical development of Marx' concept. When I speak about global problems, I proceed from the premise that it was Marx who first studied the processes of internationalization, which were already then taking place in the economic and other spheres of human activity. Based on this analysis of the processes of internationalization, we translate the globalization of certain problems into contemporary language. I study Marx and see therein the basis for building a Marxist concept of the environment and human attitude to nature.

[Question] When we appear in the international arena any attempt to monopolize the new thinking, to say that it is very easy for us to incorporate it within the theory of Marxism and to stress that it is only a development of long-standing tenets existing within Marxism, arouses rejection....

[Frolov] I am saying only that we should be honest and that if we adopt certain starting points and, most importantly, if we adopt the method of Marxism, it would be dishonest here to say: I, I, I. After all, in the sphere of social theory it is very easy to erase everything, including authorship. Do you understand? Each of us by engaging in philosophy makes this sacrifice, but that does not mean that each of us is dissolved in the overall system—everyone can say what he has done, what he has promoted, and so forth. As for Western scientists, it seems to me that they have less esteem for those of us who try to adapt themselves to their methodology and more for those who adopt a clear-cut position.

The new approaches and tenets concerning the priority of common human values and our understanding of global problems did not arise in a vacuum.

Twenty years ago, when speaking about the distinctive features of the socialist utilization of nature and its advantages we urged that they be utilized to the full and bore environmental crises less in mind. But if 20 years ago we had heeded everything that was said and really drawn public opinion and the attention of state organs to these problems, the acute present-day environmental situation would not exist. Western environmental specialists visited us at the time and the discussion went as follows: You are proud today of how everything is fine in your country, but just wait a while, you'll soon be experiencing the same environental crisis. We neglected at the time the opportunities and advantages of the socialist utilization of nature. That was the ecological crime of those who ran the country then.

I recently read a pretty good article on humanism, but I did not like it much because it set the task in connection with new thinking as follows: We should now rethink everything ab initio and create a new global ethic, a new type of humanism. Everything. Come on! Erich Fromm has proposed a concept of a new humanism for the new conditions. In its publications the Club of Rome has proposed a new concept of humanism. All this has been proposed. And in our country too, from a Marxist standpoint, there is work which directly formulates new principles of humanism which should be implemented in the new conditions of global problems. They need to be discussed and developed. Much was philosophically elaborated even during the so-called years of stagnation. There was much resistance and struggle, but it must not be thought that we have to start everything from scratch.

You certainly know that this is not the best path, since you can end up asking: Why are history and philosophy necessary at all? Everything begins with me.

When I was a student, we were taught as follows. After discussion on Alexandrov's book "The History of West European Philosophy" in 1947 it "turned out" that all preceding philosophy was mere "speculation" and real philosophy began only with Marxism. And all this "speculation" did not need to be studied at all for it merely clogged up the brain. We are now being urged to do the same, except that Marxism is included here, too.

[Question] But it was impossible to study it. What value do our textbooks on Marxist-Leninist philosophy have?

[Frolov] We have produced a new textbook for higher educational institutions. We have assembled philosophers the majority of whom were not simply unacknowledged during the years of stagnation but persecuted in various forms. The textbook has turned out, of course, far from perfect. We immediately decided that it would not be the "The Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy." It would be an "Introduction to Philosophy". But we would not be able to expound in the textbook the whole of this great science that has developed over many centuries, otherwise you end up with the nonsense that existed before, where everything is compressed and formalized.... We therefore split the book into two sections—history and theory. The first section is all about philosophy's development. Here the following task arises: If you say that Marxism is the ultimate philosophy, prove it. And those who study must see for themselves whether it is the ultimate philosophy or not.

I am a convinced proponent of Marxist philosophy. We seek to demonstrate that philosophy's advantages but we place it alongside other philosophical movements. We want to expound everything objectively and give you a choice. You will perceive the gaps which exist in our world view, since whole levels of problems concerning existence, man, consciousness, and the world were dropped. They have not been assimilated by Marxist philosophy. These problems have been taken up by other philosophical movements. We have to interpret all this and indicate the origin of things. There is no surrendering of class, conceptual, or ideological positions here. I regard this merely as an honest, objective approach. [passage omitted]

Readers Give Views on Contents of PRAVDA

*PM1008141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3*

[N. Kozhanov article: "Let's Talk Face to Face: Countless Questions Asked During PRAVDA Days in Kursk Oblast"]

[Text] "Many newspapers now, including PRAVDA, have begun printing letters containing readers' suggestions. That is understandable—it is subscription time. I (and I do not think I am alone here) also have a suggestion: It would be a good thing to know the people who produce the newspaper, its editors and correspondents, not just by name but by face. Why should they not, for example, tell us about the newspaper and its problems and plans on television? Why, finally, should they not come occasionally actually to worker collectives to talk to readers, listen to them, and answer questions face to face, as it were."

Extract from letter by V. Karmisheyava, Volgograd.

The author of that suggestion-cum-letter (which is incidentally, far from the only such one in the editorial office's mail), was unaware, by all accounts, of the fact that such meetings with readers form part of long established PRAVDA tradition. But the newspaper very rarely talks about these direct contacts between PRAVDA staffers and subscribers. To repair this omission I will try, albeit briefly, to describe recent meetings held with readers in Kursk Oblast.

The character of those meetings could, I think, serve as yet another illustration of how far and, let us hope, irreversibly the times of general spurious political "coziness" have receded from us. There were no compliments or stage management. The computer producers at the "Schetmash" plant in Kursk, the iron-ore extractors of Zheleznogorsk, the nuclear power workers of the new and utterly modern city of Kurchatov, and the inhabitants of the garden city of Rylsk spoke about PRAVDA with exactingness and commitment.

"We have perhaps somewhat overdone the criticism here," L. Abramov, chief of the Kursk nuclear power station construction administration, said after one such "impassioned" meeting. "But you will appreciate that PRAVDA is for each of us here—Communists and nonparty people—our newspaper, and so everyone wants to see it as the most objective and principled paper...."

And the meeting at the Kursk nuclear power station did indeed prove impassioned. The regular construction workers' production update meeting had just finished and its participants, who had not yet cooled down from examining various kinds of current production problems and hitches, plunged straightaway into discussion of the newspaper, without pausing for breath. And with fervor and meticulous thoroughness. While noting, for example, the informative nature and significance of the articles carried under the "PRAVDA Fridays" rubric, the nuclear power workers immediately complained that the articles, though interesting in their own right, are too often confined to the past—the twenties, thirties, forties.... And that there are not enough articles concerned with future problems, articles forecasting the future, philosophical (albeit on a discussion level) articles about the future, about the economic, political, and social outlines of our future.

"We would like to see more clearly where it is we are heading," were the rejoinders from the floor. "Who if not PRAVDA can write about this?"

The press' attitude to nuclear power induces sharp discontent in Kursk workers. The basic argument is that if we talk about pluralism, we cannot, as happens quite often today, conduct one-sided debate, all aiming at the same target. Yes, all equipment and technologies need to be improved, but all of the accidents that have occurred to date without exception show that the main cause lies in people and their level of responsibility, competence, and awareness. That is the message that needs to be conveyed unceasingly....

And thus at every meeting there were countless questions. Anxious, uneasy, searching questions....

"Glasnost and democracy, as we can see, in some places turn into strikes, deteriorating discipline, and declining organization. Have we perhaps been going too fast? Perhaps we have not fully taken account of the level of public consciousness and culture?"

"Are there still areas which are off limits to newspapers? Or, more simply, what won't you read about in PRAVDA?"

Again and again I pick through the pile of notes that were received during our meetings. Some of them are ready-made requests for discussion of a topic. For example, N. Molchalin, from the nonwoven materials factory in Zheleznogorsk, asks why his expulsion from the party was so widely reported here, including via the press, yet when at last his good name and title as a Communist were restored after the intervention of higher party authorities, this was all accompanied by complete silence.

And then there are questions-cum-attacks, questions which contradict one another and clash just as many of our ideas and assessments clash today in the turbulent round of life.

"Why does PRAVDA, as the organ of the Central Committee, not assess and rebuff the extreme left-wing articles published in newspapers and magazines you are familiar with?"

"Why are patently right-wing people who are bent on dismantling socialism and want to restore capitalist practices called left-wing in the press?..."

That is one line, as it were. But then you get:

"Why does the newspaper not publish the genuine leaders of perestroyka but follows the 'aggressive majority,' expressing the views of by no means the most progressive section of the party apparatus?..."

Yes, the disputes and keenly impassioned atmosphere of the past congress are not over. The speeches by party committee secretaries at the recent conference at the CPSU Central Committee also come to mind. The same ceaseless searching, the same occasional exaggerations in debate and clashes of views and stances. And all these anxieties, expectations, and hopes should find a response on the newspaper pages.

Specific suggestions by readers regarding topics, areas, and rubrics are of particular interest to journalists at such meetings.

"The newspaper was very timely in raising the problem of ethics and honor and the moral complexion of today's Communist. But it must not stop, it is time to go farther and examine the extent to which many of the tenets of our statutes and program are in keeping with the times. After all, the 28th party congress is not far off."

"The newspaper pays attention to the capital's cultural life. But does it know what the concerns of the provinces and outlying districts are? That, after all, is where the majority of your readers live. And surely the moral, spiritual, and cultural life of the provinces should be a matter of constant concern and worry for PRAVDA?"

"We expect greater militancy from the newspaper in ideologically countering such manifestations as the

'Democratic Union' and 'Pamyat.' Pluralism does not mean philosophical omnivorousness and does not obviate the choice of position and struggle of ideas...."

Good, compelling advice. But, of course, discussion with the inhabitants of Kursk Oblast was not conducted solely "on a global scale." The newspaper should, they insisted, more often give coverage to burgeoning innovations, of which there are quite a lot in Kursk Oblast. The countryide is gradually reviving and the exodus of the rural population to the cities has been checked and reduced to zero through concerted efforts. Although there is still no shortage of problems and ills.

Throughout the time we spent traveling around Kursk Oblast the din of summer harvesting work never abated in the field or on the roads. The harvest this year proved difficult (when, incidentally, has it ever been easy?)—heavy downpours and storms over large areas shortly before harvesting began plaited and curled the cereal crops and knotted their stalks and ears. It is difficult for the Niva and Don combines and their drivers to disentangle these knots, hectare after hectare, to fill the hoppers with grain and provide the country with bread. It is difficult, painstaking, responsible work. Work that reminds one how many tangled knots the country still has to unravel on its path of renewal. And also what an enormous responsibility lies on us workers in the press, which must do its utmost to help the party and the people travel this path successfully.

IZVESTIYA Readers Criticize Its Coverage, Style

PM2308081189

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 19 August 1989 carries in its Morning Edition on page 3 a roundup of readers' letters on areas of IZVESTIYA coverage they would like to see improved under the heading "IZVESTIYA Readers on IZVESTIYA."

S. Polyanskiy from Kargopolskiy Rayon in Arkhangelsk Oblast writes under the heading "They Have Begun To Be Overly Cautious" that "a newspaper should not be afraid of discussion, debate, mutually exclusive points of view, or the refutation of certain 'truths'—readers should be given greater voice, and more often. In my opinion, excessive correctness and a certain amount of caution are standing in your way: Or does the status of a government newspaper oblige you to be 'solid and reliable?' In short, I would like to see more real life, with all its contradictions and 'incorrectnesses': Articles in IZVESTIYA should be from life rather than above it (as is often the case at present)."

On a different subject, V. Krugov from Saratov muses under the heading "Stereotypes Again" as to when journalists are going to abandon "old stereotypes in their work." He continues: "You carry reports on Supreme Soviet sessions, and virtually every one of them makes reference to the fact that 'Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.I. Vorotnikov and so on were present.' Why were they present? They were present because they were simply doing their job as deputies—that is their direct responsibility. So why emphasize their special lofty presence?"

Comparing the republic and the national press, N. Trofimovich from Riga makes the point under the heading "Newspaper Lagging Chronically Behind" that, "whereas the republic press reacts instantaneously to everything that happens, you are often 2 or 3 days behind. What is more, you often report on events, particularly in the national republics, in such a vague way that one has no desire to read what you say."

Finally, B. Khandros from Kiev asks "Why So Much Semi-Official Material?" "The duplication of the same official material by different newspapers is a hoary old problem," he says, "and one which has perhaps existed for as long as the author of these lines—already of pensionable age—can remember reading newspapers. I cannot understand for the life of me: If IZVESTIYA is the organ of the soviets, why, for example, does it have to give reports on trips around the country by leading officials? And what is the level of these reports? 'Visited.... Stressed.... Made the suggestion.... Dwelt particularly on.... Was acquainted with.... Visited a number of enterprises.... Once again stressed....' And so on and so forth. As a rule, the author of these reports is the same and is written in parentheses—TASS. Let party information be given by party publications and let IZVESTIYA concentrate on the life of the soviets."

The feature also includes readers' letters on other subjects.

Economic

Vorotnikov Speaks at Kamchatka Party Committee

OW2308060289 Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Speech by Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 22 August meeting of the Kamchatka Oblast Party and Economy Aktiv in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy—recorded]

[Text] Respected comrades, first I would like to cordially greet you on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and wish you great successes in your difficult work here... [Changes thought] I wanted to say, at the very edge of the land of Russia, but will say... here at the very beginning of the land of Russia. [Applause] Comrade Kabanov corrected me. He said that one should consider Russia not from West to East but from East to West, as the Sun rises. I think he is right, of course.

I have had the opportunity to visit Magadan Oblast, Chukotka, and now, for the past 3 days, I have been here in Kamchatka. I have managed to see far from everything, but I think I have gained a certain impression of the atmosphere in work in various spheres, including production, services, and daily life. So, I must say that the affairs and aspirations of the working people of Kamchatka Oblast are close and understandable to us.

Comrades, perestroyka has set new, great tasks before you, as it has before the rest of the country. I think the present meeting of the oblast's party and economy aktiv will permit us to discuss the most pressing problems, those difficult areas requiring for their solution the efforts of both the center and the provinces.

I think there is every reason—and I would like to begin my address with this—to positively assess the results of the recently concluded session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The country has now truly received an effective organ of people's representation, reflecting the will of all Soviet people. This has laid a reliable foundation for a socialist, law-governed state and a durable guarantee for the irreversibility of perestroyka. For the first time, a permanently acting, higher legislative, executive, and controlling organ of power has been established in our country. A continuity in the relations between the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet has also been established. The work of the standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet is also getting under way. New relations between the legislative and executive powers have been affirmed in practice. A search is being conducted for the most efficient forms of work for people's deputies. And, although the activities of the Supreme Soviet have only just begun, and, naturally, there were shortcomings in the initial stages, it is irrefutable that, overall, the results of the recent Supreme Soviet Session ought to be highly assessed.

It is equally important that, owing to glasnost at its sittings, it promoted a rapid development of the political consciousness of Soviet people and an increase in the social activity of the masses. The profound and diverse content of the democratic form of work of the Supreme Soviet also serves as an example for other soviets at all levels. I have in mind the supreme soviets of union republics and local soviets of people's deputies. The high professionalism, understanding of problems, and acuteness of political thinking which marked many addresses of people's deputies of the USSR is worthy of emulation and augmentation in all soviets.

Obviously, the vital atmosphere of heightened exactingness and political creativity formed by the Supreme Soviet will permit the envisaged extraordinary sessions of soviets, at which reports of administrative and executive organs will be delivered, to be carried out in a new way. This is particularly important insofar as the center will table questions on the fulfillment of socioeconomic programs of regions and elaboration of measures for decisively overcoming everything hindering perestroyka.

The USSR Supreme Soviet session considerably enriched the country's political life, partly by adopting a number of major laws on key directions for the development of Soviet society, and by adopting important directives. Of course, renewal of the Law on the State Enterprise is of primary significance. The amendments adopted by the session must open additional opportunities for furthering economic reform. In the sphere of economic activity, enterprises have been given the right to independently choose forms of economic accountability and, taking into consideration feasibility and the wishes of the collective, to apply various models, including leases, shareholding, and others.

Moreover, enterprises, as independent goods manufacturers, are getting an opportunity to participate in the securities market and to issue shares. The amendments must protect enterprises from local dictates and the administrative interference of branch ministries that are henceforth deprived of the right to determine the contents of the state order. It is no less important that enterprises and structural entities have been given the right to withdraw from associations if the labor collective so decides, or the opposite—they can form new amalgamations, concerns, or associations.

The following ought to be noted in particular: The new version of the law reviews the previous procedure for determining the means of labor remuneration in accordance with the adopted schedules of the correlation of growth of the average wage. However, the new regulation does not affect those enterprises, associations, and economic organizations that ensure growth in the wages fund through the production of goods and services. In this case, conditions are being established for the most rapid saturation of the domestic market, which is particularly important for us now and promotes the elimination of the imbalance that is felt particularly acutely at present.

Among other adopted laws is the law on urgent measures for improving the provision of pensions and social services for the population. The people's deputies insist that the solution of this problem—a most painful one for society—be accelerated, and that opportunities be found and means be discovered to increase the pensions of the most needy people as of 1 October rather than 1 January of next year.

The resolution on the draft law on the procedure for solving collective labor disputes ought to be included among the adopted acts. The resolution stresses that strikes are an extreme method for solving collective labor disputes and should be stopped until a corresponding law is adopted and comes into force. The Supreme Soviet appealed to all labor collectives of the country to strengthen labor discipline, raise the exactingness and responsibility of leaders of enterprises, organizations, ministries, and departments, and promote in every way possible the consolidation of Soviet society for the solution of tasks of perestroyka and renewal of all aspects of state and social life. Concern for the interests of labor collectives, of the working people, must be in the forefront. This concern is a matter for the labor collectives themselves and for economic organs and soviets of people's deputies.

There is no doubt, comrades, that we are presently experiencing a critical stage that demands maximum mobilization of all forces. The processes of reform and democratization have evoked a stormy politicalization of the people. Part of society is not orienting itself sufficiently accurately in the given situation. This always occurs at times of acute historical change. This is natural. But if we want to achieve genuinely revolutionary renewal, then this is possible only on the basis of consolidation of the people, who are the foremost political force. The unity of all forces of society to overcome the difficulties that have formed in the national economy is particularly essential precisely now.

The draft state plan for next year that is presently being elaborated needs to check the deterioration of the economic situation and to ease the growing social tensions in practice, and to create a basis for stable development of the economy. Broad expansion is envisaged for work to normalize the financial aspect of the national economy and to stabilize the consumer market. It is envisaged to increase the overall production of consumer goods by 12 percent as compared to this year's plan, while the gross national product will increase by only 2 percent. It is envisaged to sharply increase goods turnover. It is planned to decisively decrease, by almost one-third, state centralized capital investments into the production sphere, and to severely cut the scope of construction work.

The import of a number of materials and goods, primarily for heavy industry, is being decreased. At the same time, ways are being sought to reinforce the output of consumer goods through imports.

There is another feature: A sharp acceleration of conversion processes in defense branches, once again aimed at producing equipment for enterprises manufacturing for the market and also at turning out consumer goods and foodstuffs.

A characteristic of the current stage of development of the national economy lies in the fact that it is being carried out under conditions of a transitional nature of the economic reform and its further deepening in the primary area of public production. A process of change to lease relations, to healthy—I stress healthy—cooperative forms of management is beginning.

The affiliation of enterprises with specific branches or republics remains to be determined in connection with their reorganization as well as the beginning of the emergence of regional economic accountability, to which, as we see it, a whole series of regions in the Russian Federation will change next year. In connection with this, a new tax system, a market for production means, and a mechanism for price and credit regulation of economic development will be elaborated and brought into force.

Of course, the formation of a socialist market is hindered by deficits, the poor quality of many varieties of material and technical products, waste, mismanagement, and ultimately the growth of inflationary processes. Here, comrades, we are faced with a very big and complex task. Balancing the domestic market is one of the most acute problems of our economy. Ways to solve this problem are well known, and this is the regulation of the economically unfounded growth of income in various levels of the population as well as an intensive increase in the production of consumer goods, paid services, and accelerated development of the material base of the social and cultural sphere.

The trend towards unchecked growth of the population's cash income has not been overcome yet. Hence, in the first half of this year, with an increase of 2.4 percent in the republic's gross national income and 2.7 percent in the productivity of public labor, the wages fund in the national economy increased by 8 percent. Last year the population's cash income increased by 8.9 percent, yet in the first half of this year alone it increased by 12 percent as compared to the corresponding period of last year.

At the same time, the economy is not in a position to ensure goods coverage of the available income. The republic's cash receipt plan has not been fulfilled. The amount of money put into circulation above the plan was 40 percent more than during the corresponding period of last year. We are faced with a most important task: to bring the growth of the population's cash income under normal economic constraints, with a maximum growth in our own production of goods and services. It is important to decisively block channels of unearned income—I stress, unearned income—and the transfer of goods to narrow strata in the population. A high level of growth of consumer goods and services must become a national task. Next year it is planned to bring retail goods turnover up to R435 billion. In other words, it must increase by R40 billion in a year. Great efforts, organization, and maximum use of available reserves are needed for this. This task is achievable taking into consideration the fact that the majority of enterprises of the defense complex, as I have already noted, are joining in it.

If we look at the situation in Kamchatka Oblast from this point of view, then it should be noted that during the elapsed period of the 5-year plan the output of consumer goods other than foodstuffs increased here by 21 percent—quite good, it would appear—and the average rate of growth came to 6.6 percent, whereas the plan envisaged 5.6 percent. In other words, this was good. But as can be seen by the shelves in stores, this was obviously insufficient. The deficit of goods is not decreasing; in some instances it is even growing. Apparently it is necessary to take a look at measures that can be taken here in the oblast in order to facilitate a way out of this situation.

The second national task is the financial normalization of the economy. In a period of 1 year we must decrease the country's state budget deficit by approximately a factor of two. Presently it amounts to R120 billion. The main directions of this work are an orientation towards an appreciable decrease in prime production costs and profit growth at enterprises, a considerable increase in goods production, and, as a result, a growth in turnover tax. Further, this means a considerable decrease in state centralized production capital investments that I have spoken of, and real cuts in spending on defense and on maintenance of the administrative apparatus that should time and again be reviewed with a view to more cuts. It is important to intensify the struggle against unprofitable operations and waste and to overall tighten a regime of thrift in the national economy.

It is precisely these measures that for the first time must ensure a rapid increase in the state's income over its expenditures. Presently the opposite is true. The state's expenditures are growing while its income...[changes thought] rather the rate of growth of expenditures are surpassing the rate of growth of income. In the next few years we will have to resort to borrowing resources from the credit system. What does this mean? What are we talking about?

Now we and party and economic leaders, employees, and workers, must with increasing frequency resort to economic terminology, and we must comrades, whether we like it or not, take an interest in and well understand economic matters. So, what is it we are talking about? The state has insufficient finances: in other words, total centralized cash funds needed to ensure the normal functioning of the economic mechanism, realization of major economic programs, for covering expenditures for social needs, for defense, and so forth. Why this insufficiency? Because of the numerous lapses in the economy, and—to put it bluntly—because of the fact that public production does not ensure the necessary income.

These are the very things that we are talking about. Yet at the same time there is a lot of money, money not covered by goods and services. A considerable part of this money is in banks and credit institutions as temporarily free funds. The banks can, by extending credits to enterprises and entire branches, effectively help them in the solution of production tasks, while naturally controlling how these funds are used. However, previously, if we tell the truth, the bank was simply a reserve for the Ministry of Finance. It dictated its will to it and could simply take the required sum from the bank and do with it as it saw fit. In other words, the role of the bank depreciated.

Under conditions of reform of the economic mechanism the task is to change the relationship between the financial and credit systems, to build it on the basis of economic accountability. On the other hand, banks also should seek more flexible economic methods for mobilizing free cash funds of the population. The USSR Gosbank [State Bank] must in fact become an organ administering the entire aggregate cash turnover in the country using mechanisms for regulating money circulation common in world practice. For example, one of the forms of this kind of credit system could be to borrow money from the population for higher interests. Not for 2 percent, for example—that is now offered in State savings deposits—but for possibly 3 or 5 percent, but on the condition that the return of this money will be delayed somewhat.

This is what we mean when we say that we plan to resort more frequently to the services of the credit system. Development of this system—and it is being applied throughout the world, in every country—is an important element of economic reform. It was discussed at the session and it should be applied in the broadest way. Overall, reform is called upon to effectively facilitate a way out of economic difficulties that have emerged. Today its movement is being strengthened from the grass roots, primarily in the form of growing demands for the introduction of genuine economic accountability.

The following strategic tasks of reform seem to be the most important today: first, a radical renewal of the relationship to socialist property and ensuring that it is multifaceted and competitive in its forms. At the enterprise level this is directly linked with the development of various forms of economic accountability, if we put it precisely. In step with the development of lease and cooperative contracts the scale of state property will decrease. One of the elements of this is the creation of a socialist market. Here a decrease in the proportion of state orders and a change to wholesale trade will take place. So far the gradual introduction of wholesale trade has given us nothing. It led to the complication of the system of material and technical supply. Why? Because the old principle of limiting and disbursing resources and not trade remains in the practice of wholesale trade.

Lease and cooperative relations and a shareholding economy appeared in Kamchatka Oblast in 1986. Presently two industrial enterprises and 20 sovkhozes in the oblast are operating under lease contract terms. Last year the leaseholders produced 16 percent of the beef and 8 percent of the milk of the total volume produced by oblast sovkhozes. In construction organizations more than a third of all the workers are involved in lease contracts. They fulfilled 40 percent of the volume of construction and installation work.

Of course all of this needs to be viewed as only the beginning. Furthermore, this economic accountability has been introduced in full measure far from everywhere and not in all organizations and enterprises, so to speak. It is understandable, comrades, that the change to market relations is most closely linked with the introduction of a new taxation system. As I have already said, its first stage is a progressive tax on the growth of the wages fund. The corresponding decision on this, as you know, was adopted by the Supreme Soviet session. Other questions relating to this are also being worked on. The taxation system must become the regulator of the correlation between accumulation and consumption.

Third, a most important direction of the economic reform is the change of union republics to self-management and self-financing. At the beginning of next year the Baltic republics will be the first to change to economic accountability. Belorussia is preparing for this as well as several regions of Russia, as I have already said. In this regard corresponding materials have already been prepared in particular for the Tatar Autonomous Republic, for Sverdlovsk Oblast, for Moscow City, and Leningrad is making preparations. Materials are being worked on in Kemerovo Oblast, Stavropol Kray, and in Tomsk, Kuybyshev, and a number of other oblasts.

Economic accountability is the fundamental principle of our economy. For a long time it could not operate at full force. What does it mean in principle? It means that every enterprise, every branch and territorial economic unit organizes its activity independently and provides itself independently through the market or with the cooperation of the state with all material and labor sources of production. After fulfilling its corresponding responsibilities towards local and other organs, it becomes the master of the wealth that it has created.

Presently questions relating to the introduction of territorial economic accountability are being reviewed closely in the USSR Council of Ministers and other organs. Models and general approaches to management of the economic and social spheres are being worked on in the Union republics on the principle of self-repayment and self-financing. A special law is to be adopted that will create a qualitatively new mechanism of territorial administration. Parallel to this, a draft law on the general principles for local self-management and local economies is being worked out that will give both legal and economic guarantees to local soviets to make them truly full-fledged masters on their territories. Presently this law is under review by committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet; at the next session that will open on 25 September, it will be proposed for discussion by the Supreme Soviet.

How is it proposed to form the income of a union republic's budget? First of all it will include payments for productive capital and a tax on the profits of enterprises of republic or local affiliation. Furthermore, it will include payments by enterprises of union, republic, and local affiliation for land, water, and labor resources. There will also be taxes from the population, deductions from payments for productive capital, part of the taxes on profits of enterprises of union affiliation, and deductions from turnover tax in the territory of a union republic. The budgets of union republics will also get part of the turnover tax received from the marketing of goods which were manufactured from raw materials and other materials produced in the given republic. The budget will also receive part of the profits from exports by enterprises of local republic affiliation.

It has been proposed that all enterprises in new industrial development areas make no deductions to the union budget from payments for productive capital and profit tax for the first 2 years. Half of these payments will go to the cost accounting profit of the enterprise while the other half to the local budget. Anyway, this is what it says in the draft law. Of course, comrades, I am outlining this for you in general terms and all of these issues should and will be worked out in greater detail.

The problems of the national economy of Kamchatka should also be viewed against the background of general economic processes occurring in the country. Undoubtedly realization of the tasks of the long-term program for the development of the Far East, which Vladimir Yakovlevich Abayev [Kamchatka Oblast CPSU Committee Second Secretary] spoke about earlier, has a certain influence on the situation in the oblast.

The volume of industrial production increased by 15.3 percent since the beginning of the 5-year plan, which is higher than the task set by the program. The entire growth of industrial production was achieved through an increase in labor productivity. The proportion of capital investments into the nonproductive sphere in the overall volume of capital investments increased. If it came to 36 percent of the total volume in 1980, now it comes to 44 percent of the total volume of investments. This is according to last year's results. I should tell you that for the Russian Federation as a whole, for example, this figure was equal to 25 percent. The 3-year plan for catching fish, marine mammals, and producing marine products was overfulfilled as was the plan for commercial fish products.

Obviously, comrades, I do not intend to describe to you the problems of your oblast; you know them better than I. I would simply like to dwell on certain aspects of the development of the fishing industry which accounts for more than 80 percent of the oblast's trade output. It is a very important and responsible task and there are many shortcomings and problems involved with it that demand solution. What are these problems? I think that these issues are also familiar to you, but my visit here in Kamchatka and discussions, talks, and meetings with various officials connected with both fishing and fish processing attests to the fact that certain negative processes are taking place. Ships and equipment are aging, storage and refrigeration facilities are lagging, and social issues are being solved slowly and their acuteness in a number of areas, particularly in housing, is even increasing. The administrative system in the branch also demands serious renewal. Workers of the fishing industry and its party and trade union organizations are sharply and substantially posing the question of modernization of the branch, of improving the social situation of those employed in it, and certain measures are already being taken to solve the more acute and pressing problems.

I do not want to enumerate them; you know them. However, apparently the measures that were adopted, both by the government and by the ministry, are still insufficient to relieve this tension. We fully recognize the fact that there is still no complete clarity on the more serious problems that concern fishermen, and many of the proposals put forward demand that the government, central trade union organs, and a number of ministries and departments review them. Apparently we must give some thought to ensuring the further proportional development of the entire potential of the branch, of the fishing fleet, and of processing and the social infrastructure.

In the 13th 5-year plan period the fishing industry must provide new vessels worth over R10 billion but Gosplan [USSR State Planning Committee] has so far not found a positive solution to this question. Work will have to continue on this problem. It is necessary to fundamentally improve the provision of the fleet with technological equipment. The program for the creation of technological equipment for processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, particularly the fishing industry, for the next 5-year plan adopted by the USSR Council of Minister Bureau for Machinery Building does not, unfortunately, fully take into consideration the requirements of the fishing industry. Because of a lack of metal working equipment the development of its own machinery building is being delayed.

All of these problems about which I am speaking—both you and we know of them—are felt most acutely only when one runs into them directly, face to face, as they say. I think that on my return to Moscow we will promote efforts to solve them on the part of the government and the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Of course, comrades, they can be solved on the spot on the basis of joint efforts of soviet, economic, and trade union organs and labor collectives. A common decision is necessary both at the center and locally relating, on the one hand, to the strategy of development of the branch and to its material and technical base, training personnel, and to specific questions that we have discussed. These decisions can and should remove those obstacles that hinder effective management. I think there are also opportunities here to manage and solve specific current issues and to strengthen the potential of the branch. Enterprises and associations have stopped far short of using everything to put all available reserves into the service of the cause. I am confident that the fishermen and fishing industry workers of Kamchatka will make their worthy contribution to this cause.

Comrades, we are becoming increasingly aware of the approaching campaign for the election of people's deputies of the Russian Federation and local soviets of republics. Taking into consideration the experience of elections of USSR people's deputies extensive preparatory work is now underway. Undoubtedly the elections must serve the further deepening of the process of society's democratization, the creation of a law-governed state, and the transformation of soviets into genuine bearers of people's power.

The draft amendments of the constitution of the Russian Federation and the laws on elections to the Supreme and local Soviets of Russia, that were recently published in the press, are being actively discussed in the republic. I hope you are familiar with them and that there is no need for me to comment on them in detail. It is clear that the proposed election procedure will permit the formation of a corps of deputies consisting of the best representatives of all levels of our society. However, some good work needs to be done for this. You and I have already had an opportunity to become convinced that it is not enough to find and nominate a good candidate, but that he must also pass through the crucible of the election struggle. The main point is that this should be an honest struggle, that the contest should center on experience and competency. An equal competition of this kind will surely reveal the best candidates for deputy and subsequently deputies.

The freedom of election envisages that all candidates have equal conditions for participating in the preelection campaign, as the law reflects, and party and soviet organs must ensure this. Of course every candidate will have his supporters. They may help him, but also under conditions of equality. The main idea is not to deny them support. Party, soviet, and economic organs must promote in a businesslike way the establishment of a normal political situation, to energetically solve those problems that have a negative influence on the people's attitudes.

The preelection situation also stimulates the renewal of the activities of soviet organs and the elevation of their activity. As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on holding extraordinary sessions of people's deputies has been adopted—as I have already mentioned—and these sessions must discuss accountability reports of the executive and administrative organs and comprehensively analyze the specific situation that has taken shape in every republic, kray, oblast, autonomous okrug, rayon, and city. Particular attention is being focused on fulfilling outlined socioeconomic programs, on restructuring the structure and activity of organizations and services subordinate to the corresponding soviets, and on decisively surmounting everything that undermines the people's belief in perestroyka. Labor collectives, public organizations, mass movements, and citizen's gatherings must participate in the preparation of these accountability reports. It is important to constantly strengthen the ties and cooperation between the Soviets and working people and to facilitate a joint search for ways to solve the pressing questions and to broadly inform the population about the practical work of soviet representative organs of state power.

These, comrades, were some of the questions I wanted to talk about at your aktiv. Permit me to express confidence that the working people of Kamchatka Oblast and its party organization will always be equal to the great demands that are being raised by perestroyka. Permit me to wish you great success in the solution of the major responsible tasks that face you. Thank you for your attention. [Applause]

Agricultural

Early August Weather, Crop Progress Noted

*18240231 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN
in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 1*

[Report by N. Ignatova, agricultural meteorologist: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] During the first half of August most of the European territory of the USSR was cooler with rainy weather. Average air temperature almost everywhere was 1-3 degrees below average. In the northwest half of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic region, the northwest and central regions, and the Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic, and across large areas of Vologda, Perm, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts and western Sverdlovsk Oblast, and also in the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Rpublic, over a 4- to 8-day period 20 to 70 millimeters of rain fell, and in some places the figure was 75 to 115 millimeters, which is 1.5 to 3 times the normal. In these regions the harvesting of agricultural crops and transport work proceeded under unfavorable conditions. The upper layer of the soil was in a sticky, sometimes fluid state. In the central, southern, and eastern oblasts of the Ukraine and in Moldavia, the North Caucasus, and Central Chernozem regions, and in the south of the Povolzhye region, conditions for completing the harvesting of grain crops and procurement of fodder were normal.

The development of agricultural crops is as before outstripping the average taken over many years by 1 or 2 weeks. Across a large zone where crops are being cultivated for grain, formation and ripening of the grain took place predominantly in favorable conditions. On average about two ears formed per plant, with 400 to 600 kernels per ear. Across a large area of the Ukraine and in Moldavia, the North Caucasus, the lower Povolzhye, and the Central Chernozem region corn has reached the stage of milky ripeness. Flowering of the ears continues only in western oblasts of the Ukraine.

In most regions, sunflower has reached the ripening stage. Flowering is reaching completion only for late-sown crops in Moldavia and Odessa, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Voroshilovgrad, and Rostov Oblasts. The height of the plants is about 2 meters. The condition of the stands is good and outstanding, but in Orenburg and Chelyabinsk Oblasts and the Bashkir, because of the drought in June and July it is only satisfactory.

Conditions for the formation of the sugar beet crop are mainly good. Temperature conditions and, in most regions, moisture conditions for sown crops are adequate and have promoted good growth of the roots. In the Baltic area, Belorussia, the North Caucasus, the Central Chernozem region and the Volgo-Vyatskiy region, and in areas of the Povolzhye where sugar beet is grown the root crop is good and above average. Across a large area of the Ukraine and the Belorussian and Central Chernozem regions withering of the potato tops and tuber growth are nearing completion. In other areas of the European territory of the USSR tuber growth continues. The weight of potatoes per plant in the central region is somewhat less than last year while in other regions it is greater.

In the farming zone of western Siberia at the beginning and end of the 10-day period of August it was cool. In Kazakhstan the hot weather continued. There grain ripening is complete for early grain crops. The rain occurring in a number of rayons of Tyumen, Omsk, Kustanay, North Kazakhstan, Kokchetav, and Pavlodar Oblasts has only slightly worsened the conditions for completion of grain ripening.

Across a large area of the Central Asian republics and in south Kazakhstan conditions were favorable for the development, formation, and accumulation of cotton bolls. In most regions four to six bolls have formed on each plant, while in the south of Turkmenia and in Tajikistan there are seven or eight, but this is on the whole somewhat below average. During the second half of the 10-day period the opening of the first bolls was observed in the early sown crop in southern Turkmenia. Last year this phase was seen for one-third of the crops sown.

Scientific

Soviet Cosmonaut Crews Arrive in Baykonur

*LD2308201689 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT
23 Aug 89*

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The crews of Soviet cosmonauts to be launched on September 6 on a flight to the long-term orbital station "Mir" arrived at Baykonur Cosmodrome by air today. Aleksandr Viktorenko, Aleksandr Serebrov (the first crew) and Anatoliy Solovoyov, Aleksandr Balandin (the second crew) will now be preparing for the forthcoming space expedition directly at Baykonur Cosmodrome.

Upon arriving in Baykonur they radioed to the cosmonauts' training centre that they are ready for the flight. The cosmonauts feel well. The weather at Baykonur is fine. They have been accommodated at the Kosmonavt hotel. By the existing tradition they will leave their autographs on the doors before the launching. For Aleksandr Balandin, it will be his first space flight. Other members of the crews have already worked in space. The blast-off of Soyuz TM-9 spaceship is planned for September 6, zero hours 32 minutes Moscow time.

The cosmonauts are to work on board the orbital complex for six months. This is the optimum period—the guaranteed resource of effective work of the Soyuz spaceship, Aleksey Leonov, deputy chief of the Cosmonauts' training centre, told TASS.

The crews will have a usual workday today. They are to continue getting accustomed to the ship. The commission will decide before the launching which of the crews will go to space.

The automatic cargo ship of the new series "Progress M" was launched today. It carries cargoes for further functioning of the orbital complex Mir and for the crew's life-sustaining.

Scientist on Chernobyl Animals, Plant Mutants

AU2308181889 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Erice, Sicily, Aug 23 (AFP)—Giant blind rats and deaf cats are some of the mutations spawned by radiation from the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster in the Soviet Union, a Soviet professor told a conference on the environment here.

Professor Leonid Bolshov said the other deformities in nature around the site of the nuclear reactor were hybrid trees—fir trees at the roots but pine trees at the top—and unusually large, and almost yellow, leaves on oak trees.

The account by Prof. Bolshov, a member of the prestigious Academy of Sciences, did not mention the effects of radiation from the disaster on human beings. These are being studied by observation centres in Geneva, Switzerland and the Austrian capital, Vienna.

The conference has brought together some 70 scientists from around the world.

It was organised by the Erice International Seminary, founded nine years ago by Italian scientist Antonino Zichichi, to pool scientific knowledge on the consequences of any nuclear disaster.

The Chernobyl disaster in the Ukraine killed 33 people according to Soviet figures.

Military

Deputy Premiers Attend Moscow Aviation Day

PM2208080389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1, 8

["Reportage of the Day" by V. Izgarshev: "In the Skies Above Tushino"]

[Excerpt] A great aviation sports event devoted to USSR Air Fleet Day was held yesterday at the capital's Tushino Airport. Tens of thousands of Muscovites and guests of the capital thronged the airport's green field. And there were no fewer spectators on the opposite bank of the Moskva River and the slopes of Strogino.

Comrades N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, N.V. Talyzin, and D.T. Yazov were on the central stand.

Among the guests was Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democractic Republic Council of Ministers.

The event was attended by Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers I.S. Belousov, N.P. Laverov, P.I. Mostovoy, and I.S. Silayev. [passage omitted]

Belorussian Military Exercise Ends

LD2208204389 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Troops taking part in a military exercise that came to a close in Belorussia today mastered issues of battle management, interaction and perfection of field training.

In the assessment of the command, the exercise was instructive and showed the enhanced level of the training of troops.

Aims of the exercise were met. The troops are now returning to their bases.

The exercise was watched by observers from several nations which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

French Group Views Exercise

LD2308214989 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Paris August 24 TASS—The visit of a French military delegation to watch exercises of Soviet Armed Forces in Belorussia in August passed in "very stisfactory conditions". This is said in a statement of the French Foreign Ministry published here on Wednesay [23 August].

The document says that France used for the first time the right to demand an inspection of troop exercises in the USSR territory stemming from the provisions of the document adopted by the 1986 Stockholm conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

The French military delegation included four representatives of the Defence Ministry.

Vorotnikov Visits Pacific Fleet Strategic Sub

PM2308101189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Captain Second Rank M. Lukanin report: "Meeting With Submarine Crew"]

[Text] V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited a Pacific Fleet submarine garrison 20 August. He met the crew of the strategic nuclear submarine commanded by Captain First Rank V. Zhurenkov, inspected the vessel's sections and combat posts and acquainted himself with the personnel's living conditions.

3 Die in Explosion Aboard Black Sea Minesweeper

PM2308091789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

["Correspondent" telephone report: "Explosion Aboard Minesweeper"]

[Text] 21 Aug—A report came in at 1645 hours 19 August that a powerful explosion had occurred at a Black Sea Fleet garrison (Poti City) on a coastal minesweeper commanded by Senior Lieutenant I. Pantikin. The minesweeper sank. Petty Officer Second Class Laskevich and Seamen Yermoshin and Achkasov died. Seaman Bazulev is in the hospital. A commission headed by Admiral V. Sidorov, deputy commander in chief of the Navy for rear rervices and chief of Navy Rear Services, is operating at the scene. The reason for the explosion is still not known. The Black Sea Fleet emergency rescue and salvage service is carrying out work to raise the minesweeper.

Yazov Meets With Air Force Veterans

PM2308101989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel A. Garavskiy: "Meeting With Pokryshkin's Men"]

[Text] The glory of the 9th Guards Mariupol-Berlin Fighter Air Division resounded on many fronts in the Great Patriotic War. The famous formation's combat banner bears the Orders of Lenin, the Red Banner, and Bogdan Khmelnitskiy. The legendary ace A. Pokryshkin, thrice Hero of the Soviet Union, who became a marshal of aviation, served in and then commanded the division. Thirty of the pilots under his command whom he trained became Heroes of the Soviet Union and three of them were awarded this title twice. On the eve of USSR Air Fleet Day Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, met with some of them, who are taking part in an agitation flight round places where Pokryshkin's men fought.

At the Air Force Museum and then at the Yu.A. Gagarin Air Academy he had an unconstrained conversation conference hall with veterans and academy students. Heroes of the Soviet Union Colonel General (Retired) G. Dolnikov and retired officers K. Sukhov, I. Babak, G. Golubev, M. Devyatev, and others of Pokryshkin's men shared their thoughts about their experiences and current deeds. The gathering gave a warm reception to the speech by Mariya Kuzminichna Pokryshkina, wife of the military leader. Academy students Hero of the Soviet Union Captain N. Maydanov and Senior Lieutenant I. Pridius talked about how they are continuing the combat traditions of the older generations and the results with which young pilots are greeting the holiday.

The front-line soldiers' meetings with the combat aircraft of their military youth and their acquaintance with modern aviation equipment were stirring.

Yazov, Others Sign Obituary of Retired General

PM2408091589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of Colonel General (Retired) I.A. Kuzovkov]

[Excerpts] Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General (Retired) Ivan Aleksandrovich Kuzovkov, an active participant in the Great Patriotic War, has died after a long and serious illness. He devoted all his adult life to selflessly serving his motherland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he was a member from 1926. [passage omitted]

From 1945 he served in the USSR Defense Ministry Main Cadre Administration and from 1947 was deputy chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Main Cadre Administration. [passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, B.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, Yu.A. Yashin, I.N. Shkadov, I.I. Gusakovskiy, A.P. Beloborodov, V.F. Arapov, K.Ya. Kurochkin, A.K. Mironov, K.T. Mazurov, A.I. Golyakov, A.P. Silantyev, A.P. Maresyev, A.S. Zheltov, I.S. Katyshkin